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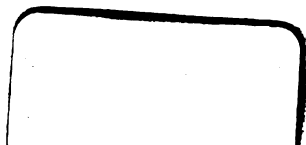
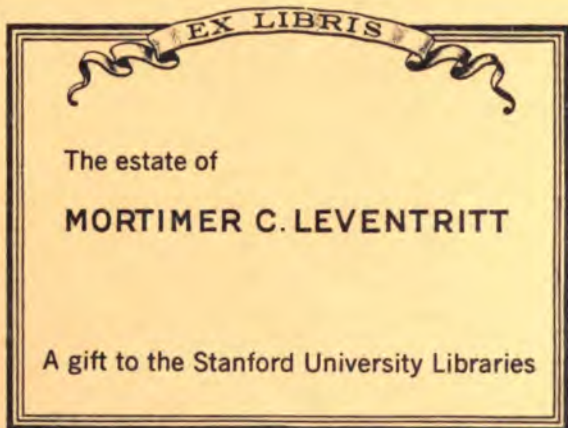
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A SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN  
PAINTING







Fig. 1.



MADONNA ADORING.  
Page 117.

BALDOVINETTI.

Louvre.

A SHORT HISTORY OF  
ITALIAN PAINTING

BY  
ALICE VAN VECHTEN BROWN  
&  
WILLIAM RANKIN



WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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## PREFACE

THIS little book is an answer to many inquiries for a guide to the study of Italian painting sufficiently clear and detailed for the beginner and yet embodying the results of modern criticism. The methods of art interpretation during the past forty years have been revolutionised as much as have been the methods of literary, historical, and Biblical criticism. A true estimate of schools and masters is now seen to rest upon the correct attribution of individual works of art, and this attribution depends upon the expert weighing of evidence for the authenticity of examples traditionally or otherwise attributed. Although documentary evidence and the accounts of early writers are necessarily used, the main factor in identification is an intimate acquaintance with the characteristics of periods and artists gained from constant and prolonged examination and comparison of the works themselves, a study which extends itself to all the minor and unknown men whose works are scattered through every hamlet and church and private palace in Italy, as well as through hundreds of private and public collections in Europe and America.

The task is great, and it has enlisted the labours of a host of students of various nationalities, who have recorded in periodicals and monographs the results of their discoveries. Nothing has been too remote or too insignificant for their interest, and we cannot over-emphasize what we owe to their disinterested search. But it has been for the most part unrelated and partial. To collate these studies and to produce the final authoritative work on the whole subject will be the lifework of some great critic of the coming generation. And we must look still later for someone who can rightly relate the marvellous art expression of Italy to its historical and social growth. The aim of the present writers has been to fix attention upon the monuments themselves, and to give familiarity with certain modern points of view and with the opinions of a few important critics such as the serious

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student can at first master. More than this space will not permit. By the separation of the more technical matter into notes, it is hoped that the book will also prove a convenient guide for the amateur while abroad or at home.

The authors are grateful for much helpful suggestion privately received from Mr. Bernhard Berenson, Mr. F. Mason Perkins, and Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr.

Thanks are also due to Miss Moore of Wellesley College, and to Miss Sawtelle of the Worcester Art Museum, for assistance in verifying references; to Miss Avery of the Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley College, for the collating of Appendix A; to Miss Elizabeth Gilman Brown of Utica for valuable correction of manuscript, and to Miss Vida D. Scudder for constant encouragement and advice, as well as to many others for help which cannot be noted in detail.

A. V. V. B.  
W. R.

LONDON, *February 1, 1914.*

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## NOTE ON TECHNICAL TERMS

**FRESCO PAINTING.**—Painting on damp plaster in water-colour. The colour and plaster set together, after which it is impossible to remove the colour without breaking up the plaster.

**TEMPERA PAINTING.**—Painting on a wooden panel prepared with a thin coating of plaster called "intonaco." The colours are finely ground powders mixed with yolk of egg or white of egg or some other adhesive medium.

**SILVER POINT.**—1. A silver-pointed stylus. 2. The process of drawing with a silver-pointed stylus on a prepared paper, producing a beautiful quality of delicate grey line.

For account of technical methods consult :

*The Materials of the Painter's Craft, etc.*, by A. Laurie, London and Edinburgh, 1910. A valuable study of Ancient, Mediaeval, and Renaissance technique, with full citation of Cennini, etc.

*Original Treatises Dating from the 12th to the 18th Centuries on the Arts of Painting, etc.*, by Mrs. Merrifield. London, Murray, 1849.

*Cennino Cennini.* See List of Books, p. 318.

Vasari on Technique, prefacing his *Lives, etc.*, Sansoni ed. See G. Baldwin Brown in article *Burl. Mag.*, x. 252 ff., and in *The Fine Arts.*

See article on *Tempera Painting*, *Burl. Mag.*, vii. 175, by Roger E. Fry.

For full information as to ordering foreign photographs and as to the value of different prints, &c., see a pamphlet by E. Abbot, published by the Massachusetts Library Club, 1907. Address : Brookline Public Library, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### NOTES

IN both text and Lists the principal public museum is mentioned by the name of the city alone—as Paris=Louvre; London=National Gallery. For other abbreviations see below.

The following galleries are often mentioned in the text without the town: Pitti (Florence); Uffizi (Florence); Borghese (Rome); Doria (Rome); Brera (Milan); Ambrosiana (Milan); Layard Collection (Venice).

The name of an author in brackets after the title of a picture indicates him as assigning the picture to the artist named. Where but one book by an author is mentioned in our list, the name of the author only is referred to in the text.

Unless otherwise specified, C. and C. references are to Douglas ed., Murray, 1903-1911.

Unless otherwise specified, Vasari references are to Milanese ed., Sansoni.

Editions of Morelli used are Vols. I & II, Eng. ed., Ffoulkes translation, 1907, Vol. III, German ed., 1893.

### ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. = Antonio.

Art. = Article.

B.B. = Bernhard Berenson.

B.B., *Cent. It.* = *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance.*

B.B., *N. It.* = *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance.*

B.B., *Flor.* = *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, etc., etc.*

B.B., *Study and Crit.* = *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art.*

Bell. = Bellini.

Bib. Nat. = Bibliothèque Nationale.

Bode, *Cic.* = Bode's edition of Burchardt's *Cicerone.*

*Boll.* = Bolletino.

Brit. Mus. = British Museum.



- Bull. Metrop. Mus.* = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.  
 Burl. = Burlington.  
 c. = Century ; *circa*.  
 Cat. = Catalogue.  
 C. & C. = Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Italy*.  
 C. & C., *N. It.* = Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in North Italy*, etc.  
 Ch. = Church.  
 Chr. = Christian.  
*Comm.* (Ghiberti) = *Commentario* (of Ghiberti).  
 Crutt. = Cruttwell, Maud.  
 Dom. = Domenico.  
 E. = Early ; East.  
 G. da Fab. = Gentile da Fabriano.  
*Giorn.* = *Giornale*.  
 Hey. and Ol. = Heywood and Olcott, *A Guide to Siena*.  
*It. Plastik* (Bode) = *Italienische Plastik* (Bode).  
 L. = Left ; Late.  
 Lud. and Mol. = Ludwig and Molmenti.  
 Mil. = Milanesi (*see List*).  
 Mor. = Morelli (*see List*).  
 Mus. Civ. = Museo Civico.  
 Nat. Gall. = National Gallery, London.  
 Pisan. = Pisanello.  
*Repert.* = Repertorium.  
 Rinasc. = Rinascimento.  
 S. = Saint ; San ; South.  
*Stor. d. Pitt. Venez.* = *Storia della Pittura Veneziana*.  
*Stor. dell' Arte Tosc.* (Mil.) = *Sulla Storia dell' Arte Toscana*.  
 Tad. = Taddeo.  
*Th.-B. Lex.* = *Thieme-Becker Lexikon*.  
 Tosc. = Toscana.  
 Vas. = Vasari, *Lives* (*see List*).  
 Vent. = Adolfo Venturi. Unless otherwise indicated, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*.  
 L. Vent. = Lionello Venturi. Unless otherwise indicated, *Le Origine della Pitt. Veneziana*.  
 V. & W. = Woltman and Woerman, *History of Painting*.

For abbreviations for periodicals, *see p.* 333.

## PART I

### THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD AND PROTO-RENAISSANCE

DUCCIO AND EARLY SIENA THROUGH THE  
LORENZETTI; CIMABUE; GIOTTO; THE  
GIOTTESCHI; EARLY NORTH ITALY AND  
VENICE; EARLY UMBRIA AND GENTILE DA  
FABRIANO; PISANELLO; MURANO THROUGH  
ANTONIO OF MURANO



# A SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

## MEDIÆVAL<sup>1</sup>

ITALIAN painting proper begins with the Proto-Renaissance at the end of the 13th century and extends to the middle of the 16th century, when it begins to decline. Its elements are both conservative and progressive. The conservative elements are found in the early Christian conceptions and forms preserved in Mediæval times, which survive in the Renaissance as a customary tradition. But these conservative elements, while fundamental, are subordinate to the progressive elements which develop the local schools of painting.

The art that extended over Italy from the 1st to the 4th centuries was imperial Græco-Roman art, having its basis in Greek tradition, frequently executed by Greeks but modified by Roman taste. It is this style which is perpetuated in early Christian art and which persisted in and about Rome until the Renaissance.

In the East grew up another form of the Imperial Classic style, also with a basis of Hellenistic Greek but deeply impregnated with oriental influence. The style was made prominent at Byzantium, which was the Eastern imperial capital from the

<sup>1</sup> For Early Christian Art consult Lowrie; Venturi; de Rossi; Wilpert; Richter and Taylor, *Golden Age of Chr. Art.* For early Mediæval and Byzantine, Venturi; Lethaby; Bayet; K. Woermann; Michel. Strzygowski and Kondakov are the chief authorities for Byzantine. The best manuals are Dalton and Diehl. A few examples are: RAVENNA, Tomb of Galla Placidia, *Mosaic* 5th c.; ROME, S. Costanza, *Mosaics* 4th c.; S. M. Maggiore, *Mosaics* in nave, 5th c.; S. Pudenziana, *Mosaics* in apse, 4th c.; S. Sabina, *Doors* of wood, 5th c., with carved scenes of the apostles directing the Church to Christ, indicative of early Christian symbolic imagination. VENICE, S. Mark's, *Ciborium pillar*, 6th c., with emblematic Crucifixion.

time of Constantine, by the magnificent examples executed there under Justinian, and in the 5th century it gained the name of Byzantine. It combined gorgeous colour and fine execution with stereotyped and lifeless drawing, and lasted as a distinct style down to the fall of the Eastern Empire, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453.<sup>1</sup>

With the establishment at Ravenna of the exarchate of the Eastern Empire under Justinian (554), the style found a secure lodgment in Italy, and became, along with the Roman, the common inheritance of all Italian schools.

These two parallel traditions, the Roman and the Byzantine,<sup>2</sup> divided Italy between them until the Proto-Renaissance.<sup>3</sup>

Within these main divisions there are interactions and variations. The Roman tradition was not entirely Roman. It was often influenced by the still more continuous Byzantine tradition. The Byzantine type is not quite a consistent type. It was affected by its surroundings in different regions. Venice, from the beginning, was dominated by Byzantine ideals, which were constantly reinforced from the Levant, and later on it became the centre for the style in Italy. Side by side, however, she introduced from the mainland Romanesque and Gothic sculpture and architecture which modified her Byzantine inheritance.

It is difficult to analyse thoroughly the distinctions of Roman, Byzantine, Veneto-Byzantine, and Italo-Byzantine (a vague term to describe any imitation of Byzantine style by a native Italian artist), and of their mixed types. Sometimes it is hard to find any organized style under the crude Mediæval forms. Italo-Byzantine painting is a degenerate mixture quite inferior to the

<sup>1</sup> Byz. style=gold backgrounds, delicate gilt lines, meagre visages, among other things. It remained technically superior but was early hampered by prescribed formulas of the Eastern Church. Roman=classic cast of figure and drapery.

<sup>2</sup> For distinct influences see Dalton, pp. 242-266, and Zimmermann's analysis, Giotto, I, 2-145. Venturi at times sees progress in Mediæval painting where Zimmermann sees decadence, as in the 9th c.

<sup>3</sup> There is no complete break with the past except in certain localities, as in Lombard regions where there is only barbaric art, and in many small places where there was no activity at all. The Benedictine monasteries became the centres for the preservation of Byzantine art and letters, and carried on the art in manuscript illuminations, as the great establishments at Monte Cassino, Grottaferrata (Frascati), and Subiaco. For Italian illuminators see Vent., III, as general authority, and W. & W.

best style of Constantinople, and as the centuries went on it was only by the direct importation of good Byzantine works—panels, enamels, miniatures, and carvings—or the occasional introduction of Byzantine artists (called “Greek” in common parlance) from Constantinople, that the style in Italy was preserved.<sup>1</sup>

During the Middle Ages painting indeed was less important in Italy than architecture and sculpture. It was not until the Renaissance that Italy became foremost in European painting.<sup>2</sup>

There are three general localities for painting in Italy after the classic period: North Italy with a strong northern bias; Venice and the surrounding country under the Byzantine influence; and Rome and its environs.

The division into periods is roughly as follows:

I. CLASSIC ART, subdivided into 1. Imperial Roman (mainly Græco-Roman), from the 1st to the 4th century (to about 300 A.D.); 2. Early Christian, from 300 to about 600 (leaving aside the catacombs), containing the development of the Roman Basilicas and their early mosaics (as S. Pudenziana); 3. Early Byzantine.

II. THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD (A.D. 568–1300). With the permanent settlement of the Lombards in North Italy (A.D. 568) and the partial destruction of the old Roman social order, on the death of Justinian (A.D. 565), came the Mediæval period, which is subdivided into 1. Early; 2. Central; 3. Late.

I. EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD (late 6th century—800) shows marked deterioration. It is the darkest in Italian art. Remains of painting outside of Rome are few and crude; those in Rome are confined to mosaics and frescoes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. two Italo-Byz. panels, Siena: *S. Peter Enthroned*, very Byzantine in quality; and the crude *Christ Enthroned*.

<sup>2</sup> There are vigorous examples of ivory carvings on a small scale (9th and 10th c.); and there is Lombardic work of the 11th and 12th c. in Pavia, Milan, Verona, the Emilia, and parts of S. Italy. The new Romanesque style grew up (from 1000–1250) in the Lombardic centres as Monza, Pavia, in N. Italy; Spoleto, in Central Italy; Capua, the region of Benevento, in S. Italy. See Testi, I, and Vent., II, for examples. For S. Italy see Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie meridionale*. There is a distinct Tuscan style in architecture long before the establishment in Tuscany of a flourishing school of painting or sculpture (see S. Miniato, Florence, late 11th c.), and there is beautiful architectural sculpture of Byzantine derivation at Venice and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> For wall paintings and mosaics see Vent., II, 246–288, bibliography, 266. With the 10th c. more frescoes appear. In general the poorest work is between late 6th and 11th c.

There was an effect from the Lombard invasions. Lombard art was barbaric, and wherever the Lombards conquered, they retarded the native style.

The Church became the main patron, and Church art lost touch with actual life and to an extent lost skill.<sup>1</sup>

2. CENTRAL MEDIÆVAL ART (800-1000) continued decadent, although germs of growth may be discernible. Remains are slight and crude. Painting consisted of mosaics growing less frequent with time, and frescoes. In the 9th and 10th centuries a Byzantine revival began to dominate in Venice<sup>2</sup> and Veneto-Byzantine art was carried to Rome. But the remains in general are inferior. The moments of brightness indicate Byzantine influence.<sup>3</sup>

3. In the LATE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD between 1000 and 1250, and TRANSITIONAL—PROTO-RENAISSANCE—1250-1300, new elements appear. Panels were used as well as fresco and mosaic.<sup>4</sup> At its close a differentiation of local schools appeared, and there is promise of the Renaissance.

The period is ushered in with the brilliant Byzantine revival of painting in Rome and Venice in the 11th century, reflecting the revival of Byzantine art in the Levant. It is the last vital spark of the true Greek tradition in Italy.

The two strains—Byzantine and Roman—are still discoverable. At Venice and in Sicily, the Byzantine impulse continued through the 12th century, but the work had lost its freshness, and by the 13th century in Venice was decadent. The debased Roman painting had partly lost its Latin character under Byzantine influence. Venetian mosaic workers were introduced into Rome,<sup>5</sup> as they were into Florence, for the want,

<sup>1</sup> See two *Archangels*, mosaic, S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, showing technical falling off; clumsy *Mosaic*, 8th c., S. Marco, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pala d'Oro*, 10th c.

<sup>3</sup> The 9th and 11th are the Byzantine centuries. There are some fine examples. See *Frescoes* dating from 8th to 11th c. in S. M. Antiqua, an ancient church in the Roman Forum, among the most interesting fragments of the period. They are a possible source for the Roman revival in the late 13th c. See the noble head of *S. Andrew*, 8th c., attrib. also to 11th c., and others which are better than early 13th c. work.

<sup>4</sup> Imported Byzantine panels only appear in Italy after about 1000 A.D., and few of these. Most are from the 12th c. on. No native panels appear before the 12th c. In the 13th c. Italo-Byz. panels become frequent.

<sup>5</sup> See *Mosaics*, Torcello, 11th c., chief dome S. Mark's, Venice, 11th c., and others.

no doubt, of local talent, although, as earlier, Latin feeling still persisted.<sup>1</sup>

In North Italy the period belongs to Romanesque and early Gothic architecture and sculpture.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of the first half of the 13th century provincial painting was so far removed from the original sources that little reminiscence of either Roman or Byzantine can be discerned beyond a common adherence to certain types in subject and composition and certain methods of execution.

Local schools are hardly discernible. Sienese as well as Florentine painters before the last part of the 13th century are scarcely to be distinguished from the generally unknown masters who work at Rome.<sup>3</sup> The character of the art is clearly seen in men like Guido and Ventura of Siena, and Giunta of Pisa,<sup>4</sup> who illustrate the state of provincial painting just before the revival. MARGARITONE of Arezzo (active 1261) exhibits its least skilful phase. His *Altarpiece* (London), in spite of a certain swarthy splendour, is an impotent, nerveless, almost comic thing, retaining some refinement of line and pattern from the Roman-Byzantine models it copies, together with a proficiency in mere execution common to the tradition.

**Cosmati.**—The only notable movement is that in Rome formed by the family and school of the Cosmati. They are marble-workers and mosaic-painters appearing in inscriptions and documents through the 13th century.

They are abundantly in evidence at Rome in pulpits and

<sup>1</sup> The examples of an earlier date in S. M. Antiqua, Roman Forum (p. 6, n. 3) show, under the intrusion of Byzantine style, the survival of Latin ideals. In the *Apse-mosaic* of S. Clemente (probably 12th c.) the decoration is Roman, the figures in debased Byzantine style.

<sup>2</sup> At Parma, Baptistery, there are, however, important *Frescoes*, 1st half 13th c.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Series* of various times and hands in the *Sacro Speco*, the ancient Benedictine monastery at Subiaco. In Florence there is a large body of extant pre-Giottoesque works of the latter half of the 13th c. The earliest are very interesting portions of the *Mosaics* of the Baptistery, executed in part by Florentine craftsmen under "Greeks," that is men, probably from Venice, trained in the debased Byzantine style of the 13th c. They resemble 13th c. Venetian mosaics in general style, with some features (like the angel trumpeters, and some of the Old Testament scenes) which may indicate Tuscan or Roman origin. Some indicate Cimabue's influence. Vent., V, 217 ff., suggests that he may have worked upon them.

<sup>4</sup> Notices of Giunta in 1236 and 1255. See Vent., V, 107-109. For Ventura see p. 18, n. 2.



tombs and pavements, which they have covered with inlaid bits of gold and colour of careful workmanship, in set designs.<sup>1</sup> But none of the Cosmati have a high place in the revival of painting. Their style was Mediæval except when influenced by Arnolfo the Florentine architect and designer,<sup>2</sup> and by Giotto at the end of the century. Clever but uninspired, the Cosmati, as far as we know them, hardly rise above the timid though pleasing style of artificers, and are without historical importance for the growth of ideas.

A most important change, however, had been going on in spirit, which is gradually apparent. The decentralisation of Italian life, political and social, which began in the Middle Ages, by the 12th century resulted in a new Italian Civilisation out of which came by degrees a new art which grew into consciousness in local schools. The rebirth of art was not to be on the old soil of Constantinople or Rome, but in the heart of young commonwealths with the rise of the Communes. The process of change covers several centuries. We see it in the activity of the Crusades, in the struggle between the Empire and the Church, in the rising political consciousness of the artisan and trading populations in towns, finally in the Franciscan and Dominican revivals of the 13th century, and in the magnificent outburst of the Proto-Renaissance which culminated in the Renaissance proper. At the end of the period came Dante and Giotto.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Lorenzo and his son Jacopo, "Roman doctors," through Cosmas I, Jacopo's son, and Cosmas II to Giovanni (Johannes) di Cosma, the best of the family. Giovanni executed the tomb of William Durand, and a *Mosaic* in S. M. Sopra Minerva, Rome, as late as 1290. Giovanni is too late to be historically significant. Early Cosmati example = pilasters and frieze of portal of cathedral, Civita Castellana.

<sup>2</sup> Active in Rome from 1285 onward.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of the Mediæval period the painting of Northern Europe was less stereotyped and more vigorous than that in Italy, and in connection with the growth of an Italian style the question is raised of foreign influence from Provence, Burgundy, and Germany. A consideration of the other arts is also essential to an exhaustive study of Italian painting. Nicola Pisano, 1206-1278—a sculptor of great genius, probably of S. Italian origin—affected Roman and Tuscan sculpture, and to some extent Tuscan painting. For Nicola's origin see Fry, *Le Vite, etc.*, Vas. by Karl Frey (Lives of Pisani). Possibly Nicola Pisano felt the inspiration of the great school of French sculpture of the 12th and 13th c., as at Chartres and Reims. Zimmermann, *Oberit. Plastik, &c.*, believes that much so-called Lombardic sculpture of N. Italy (as on San Zeno, Verona) is of direct Germanic origin.

## PROTO-RENAISSANCE<sup>1</sup>

It was at the end of The Mediæval Period—the last quarter of the 13th century—that local schools began to be distinguished.

Of these local schools, Venice and Rome had always preserved separate traditions. North Italy was intimately connected with Venice, though North Italian art from the beginning, whether of Byzantine or Roman origin, was generally impregnated with Lombardic and other northern motives. Siena, more conservative than Florence, held closely to its Byzantine tradition. Umbria was dependent in art upon Siena; and Florence, from being an unimportant town in Mediæval times, by 1300 became the cradle of what was most formative in Italian painting. Other local schools were more or less organically connected with these chief centres, as Pisa and Arezzo, both closely related to Florence.

In Tuscany, led by Florence, the revival was at first less in form than in spirit, under the fresh inspiration of the Franciscan humanism. The Franciscan movement, which vitalised the Christianity of the time by the ideal of the active imitation of Christ and by the return to a simple life, had an enormous awakening power, which showed itself in art. In 1226 S. Francis died, and immediately subjects suggested by his life became the common material for panels and wall-paintings. At Assisi, in the church erected over his tomb, the walls of the lower nave still show very archaic fragments, painted earlier than Margaritone, in which the unknown master seems sincerely moved with the significance of his themes. There are other early pictures inspired by the S. Francis motive which are crude but profoundly felt, and especially certain crucifixes of Tuscany and Umbria,<sup>2</sup> which in emotional content indicate a provincial movement interpreting the Franciscan religious passion. A

<sup>1</sup> Authorities: Venturi; Strzygowski; Hermanin. The Mus. Civ. Pisa has important pre-Giottesque panel pictures of late 13th and early 14th c. by ignoti, not to be seen elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The dramatic type of crucifix of this period belongs also to Northern Europe.

typical example is the painted *Crucifix* at Pistoia (Duomo) by COPPO DI MARCOVALDO, a Florentine artist of the period. In externals it can hardly be distinguished from the usual art of the earlier 13th century—Roman, Bolognese, Umbrian. The crucifixes of this Pistoia type are commonly relegated to the category of barbaric Italicisms reflecting Byzantine formulas at a far remove. Yet this Crucifix is not a copy of a Mediæval emblem of an outworn thought, but a vital image of a present idea, that of the suffering of Our Lord. Even if we may have an instinctive aversion to the ascetic and tragic 13th century religious art, it does not affect the question of the power of the interpretation. It is not decadent but potential art. The forms retain the stereotyped conventions, entirely removed from nature, yet the handling has superb directness and economy of means.

To consider work of this kind as mere caricature is no longer a possible critical attitude. In such art, rather than in the derivative schools of the Cosmati and the Sienese, were the true germs of development, and it culminated by the end of the century in the works attributed to the Florentine, Cimabue.

In form, however, the awakening found its finest early expression not in Florence but at Rome. The Roman school, even if debased, had conserved technique and an ordered composition and drawing. It had a traditional basis of large and gracious feeling, and its almost continuous series of Christian monuments stretching back to the time of Constantine, and even earlier, served as models. The tendency of recent criticism finds in it the source of the best Florentine tradition.

The revival of a vigorous native Roman art began with the school in the style of Pietro Cavallini, toward the close of the 13th century, and this style is rather a final manifestation of the early Christian tradition than a new development.

After the forewarnings described as appearing in Italy at large the revival came suddenly. Almost at the same time two personalities appeared, Cimabue in Florence (1272), and Pietro Cavallini in Rome (1273). With them are the names of other men, as Torriti the Roman mosaicist and decorator; and Rusuti, a pupil (?) of Cavallini; and Duccio, the famous founder of the Sienese School; above all Giotto the great Florentine.

The reasons for the revival at Rome, which for the moment

led Italy, are uncertain. It may have been partly due to the Cosmati, or in sympathy with the revival of sculpture in S. Italy and Pisa. The Franciscan movement so effective in Umbria and Florence, and the intellectual revival of the time, must have had their effect. Whatever the causes, the revival in Rome was sudden, and centred in two or three artistic personalities—Torriti, Rusuti, and especially Pietro Cavallini. Its general character must be gathered from the few remaining fragments—some mosaics and wall paintings in Rome, some in the country not far removed, some at Assisi.

**Jacopo Torriti** (not to be confused with the earlier Franciscan monk *Jacopus*, who worked on the mosaics in the apse of the Florence Baptistery in 1225) has left almost no data for his life. But there are two signed and dated *Apsal Mosaics* in Rome, in the Lateran (1290), and in S. M. Maggiore (1295), magnificent works that mark him as among the great Roman artificers of the end of the century. Of good Roman-Byzantine derivation, they distinguish him from Cavallini, showing no real modification of Mediæval formulas, though the technique is far in advance of the early 13th century. Their beauty is largely due to the sense for ornamental detail which is based upon a modified early Christian type. No other works are certainly Torriti's, although a few at Assisi are doubtfully attributed to him. From these, however, he appears as an able and refined decorator, without distinct originality.

**Rusuti**.—Turning to Rusuti, we know his name, and a mosaic on the façade of S. M. Maggiore, Rome, the upper part signed,<sup>1</sup> and certain traditional attributions, as a few frescoes at Assisi. But he is a problem, like others of the time. If the works attributed to him are really his, he had a genre-narrative gift, very Latin and naturalistic, carrying on the quality of the 11th century *Frescoes* in the lower church of S. Clemente.

The data for CAVALLINI are also uncertain. Besides the Mosaics in S. M. in Trastevere and the Frescoes in S. Cecilia, both unquestioned, there are assigned to him tentatively some share in the decoration of the church of S. Francis at Assisi, various works at Rome, the important series of frescoes at Naples,

<sup>1</sup> The attribution of the lower part depends upon the interpretation of documents as between him and Gaddo Gaddi. It is possible that a part is by each. Aubert, p. 53, thinks both parts are by the same hand.

and certain panels elsewhere, as at Munich. More important than these attributions, however, is Cavallini's evident influential control of the great Roman revival in painting.

The discussion about all these men centres in the Upper Church at Assisi. In 1228, two years after the death of S. Francis, the foundations were laid of the great basilica which was to become the centre of the Franciscan cult. The church was built in two stories, opening respectively on a lower and upper level of the terraced hill-town. The Lower Church was decorated by provincial masters, to whom we have no clue, except from the Franciscan character of the defaced fragments in the Nave (p. 9), whose works gave place within two generations to the earliest masters of the Renaissance. The Upper Church is completely covered with frescoes, variously dating roughly from 1275-1300, and it is upon the dating and attributions of these frescoes that the main discussion of Proto-Renaissance values centres. The great Apse and Transepts are covered by the ruined but precious remains of *Frescoes* by Cimabue and his school. The Nave is evidently divided among various styles. On the Entrance Wall,<sup>1</sup> above the great doors, is painted the *Ascension* and other fragments. On the Northern Side Walls the two upper tiers represent scenes from the *Old Testament*; the corresponding tiers on the South Wall represent scenes from the *Life of Christ*. Both of these are injured and sometimes undecipherable. The lowest tier on both walls, representing scenes from the *Life of S. Francis*, is connected with the name of Giotto, and discussed under him. All these works of the transition so impinge upon each other that to treat of one part touches all. Here we have in the upper rows works of a Roman school type; and others Roman, perhaps, but with a Byzantine mingled with a local Tuscan impress.

Vasari claimed the paintings for Cimabue, and though this idea is discarded it is still a question how far there may have been interrelation between the various artists at work there toward the end of the 13th century. It would have been natural that Florence, revived by the Franciscan impulse and with Umbrian connections, should have borne a hand, as well as Cavallini and the recognised school of the Papal Court. But many questions of style arise.

<sup>1</sup> By actual orientation the church faces nearly east.

The chief distinction is between Roman and Byzantine. Among the Byzantine is the type which most resembles Torriti's mosaic conventions, and may be his. They are the earlier subjects of the *Old Testament Series* on the north wall and are among the most important examples of the period in Italy, since this style is showing itself for the last time side by side with the beginnings of a more progressive art. The artist has fine dramatic instincts and great gifts in colour, but although in content a good deal is un-Byzantine, the schematic conventions appear in late Byzantine art and nowhere else. They are drawn from some memorised pattern rather than constructed from nature, and the figures and backgrounds do not unite in a pictorial whole. The touch of vehemence, the dramatic spirit morally derived perhaps from Franciscan ideals and perhaps from Cimabue, are externally archaic and not truly of the new movement.

From these we turn to the Roman type, which are scattered throughout the series. Whether by Cavallini himself, by his pupils, or by other Roman masters, they fairly represent Cavallini's spirit and are among the most important illustrations of the dignity and beauty of the school. The forms go back to the best of the Roman types in the wall paintings at Pompeii. They are quite independent of Byzantine tradition and vastly above earlier Mediæval painting in Rome.

In the *Pietà* in the second tier (S. Wall) we have a transition between the Mediæval and the Renaissance conception. It is independent of Cimabue, while perhaps indicating some effect from him. It is just before Giotto, and foreshadows some of Giotto's characteristics. The composition is in three tiers, knit together in a low triangular pattern; the flying angels above, the six standing figures in three groups below, and below all the *Pietà* proper. The effect is loose, as compared with Byzantine composition. The drawing is especially an advance, as in the natural bend of head in one of the two standing figures on the left, and their gracious dignity of pose, an entirely classic feeling such as we see in some of Giotto's women. The gestures of arms and hands are serene and natural. The male figure on the extreme right is unconventional compared with Byzantine art or with Cimabue. The draperies, while having some Byzantine sharpness, tend to classic breadth, and the faces are

classic in feeling—except where the treatment becomes more mediæval with contracted eyes, and brows angularly wrinkled or horizontally furrowed. The character of the work as a whole is like Cavallini, but a more youthful Cavallini. And in the fragment of an *Ascension of Christ*, on the Entrance wall, the angel figures remind one of Cavallini's angels in the large sweep of their wings. The Christ seems a prototype for the Christ-figures of the earlier portion of the S. Francis cycle, attributed to Giotto's early years. Some think that Giotto learned from Cavallini,<sup>1</sup> or was the assistant of some other able Roman, and that naturally the styles merge in the earlier part of the S. Francis series.

The group of *Three Angels Appearing to Abraham* is very Greek in feeling and is also close to Cavallini, if less robust. The two scenes of the *Jacob and Esau Story*—another portion of the Cavallini group—are surprisingly naturalistic. They are genre and have less suggestion as to the possible bearing of Cavallini's art on the education of Giotto, but they clearly indicate the independence of Cimabue, or of any early provincial influences on the part of the Roman masters.

On the ceiling are *Medallions*, attributed to Torriti, and the four *Latin Fathers* on the vaulting near the door, which are distinctly inferior to the other Roman School work, and which are suggested as Rusuti's, or again as by Gaddo Gaddi, the intimate friend of Giotto.<sup>2</sup>

After all, the situation in its main lines seems simple. The noted artists of the time were called to paint at Assisi through a period of years, sometimes in succession, sometimes over-lapping. They already knew each other's style. The younger men, whether they came as assistants to one master or another, imbibed ideas and imitated forms from all. Assistants may even have been trained under one master and have passed over to the service of another. It is not necessary for Giotto to have been a pupil of a Roman to have learned from the School, nor for Cavallini to have more than looked at Cimabue's work to have been inspired by him.

Illustrative of the connection between the styles of the period

<sup>1</sup> Zimmermann's theory is that Giotto was engaged on some of the pictures of the Cavallini group.

<sup>2</sup> See C. & C.

Fig. 2.



PAINTED CRUCIFIX.

Page 10.

CAPPO DI MARCOVALDO

Pistoia.

Fig. 3.



Detail of THE LAST JUDGMENT.  
HEAD OF CHRIST.

Page 15 f.

S. M. in Trastevere, Rome.

CAVALLINI



Fig. 4.



*Brogi.*  
**RUCELLAI MADONNA,**  
 Page 43.

SIENESE (?). S. M. Novella, Florence

Fig. 5.



**ANNUNCIATION.**  
 Page 24.

**SIMONE MARTINI.**

*Anderson.*

**Uffiz.**

are two superb little panels in Munich which seem inspired by both Cavallini and Giotto. If by Cavallini or his school we must recognize in the Roman Master a degree of dramatic force, of technical achievement, of sheer beauty of form and skill in draughtsmanship which is far greater than anything yet connected with him or with his school. Yet nothing of Giotto's is so urbane or delicate. We see here the incarnation of a revival touched by dramatic feeling yet missing Giotto's sincere love of the dramatic for itself rather than for its form.

## CAVALLINI

The first notice of Cavallini is in 1273,<sup>1</sup> and among others there is one in 1285<sup>2</sup> when he was working with the great Florentine architect and sculptor, Arnolfo, on the ciborium of S. Paul's without the walls. He was at work on the *Mosaics* of S. M. in Trastevere, probably in 1291, and his great *Fresco* in S. Cecilia was finished before 1297. He was employed in Naples in 1308, after which we do not hear of him. From this he was seemingly a younger man than Cimabue, and is apparently out-lived by Giotto; such is the meagre outline of what must have been a controlling personality.

The unquestioned works of Cavallini are the *Mosaics* in S. M. Trastevere,<sup>3</sup> and the *Wall-painting* in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, both in Rome. The *Mosaics* in S. M. in Trastevere are of the classic tradition in the essential motives. They are decorative, picturesque, and genial, but with little reality, and the designs even lack largeness except in detail. They can hardly be classed as on Giotto's level at all, nor even as on the master's own level.

The work in S. Cecilia in some degree indicates the true place of Cavallini—the fresco of the *Last Judgment*—which is on a higher level than any other Roman painting of the 13th century.<sup>4</sup>

The fresco originally covered the entrance-wall of the church. Later a gallery was built directly across the painting and screened

<sup>1</sup> See Vent., V, 217, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Vent., V, 141.

<sup>3</sup> See C. & C., I, 91, n. 1, for reference to Navone and Rossi.

<sup>4</sup> Recently uncovered. See F. Hermanin, on these frescoes in *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane*, 1902, a publication that appears irregularly.

in for the benefit of the secluded nuns of the adjoining convent; the upper part of the fresco was covered with a fresh layer of stucco, and the part below the gallery was entirely destroyed. The upper layer of stucco has now been peeled away, and the original painting, much disfigured and with the colour whitened, may be discerned. It shows Christ enthroned, surrounded with a nimbus of angels, and on either hand the Virgin and John the Baptist with a row of seated apostles. Below are the usual angels, on the one hand tenderly inviting the hesitating saved to ascend, and on the other sadly repelling the souls of the lost.

The picture has great power. The master is no imitator, and yet the composition and types, the benign majesty in the Christ, the modelling of the forms, the draperies hanging in large, classic folds, all belong to a perfected method. And the method is classic. Its pedigree is as clearly marked as that of a Greek statue. Whatever Cavallini owed to Italo-Byzantine tradition, or to the purer models of Constantinople, or to Graeco-Roman reliefs, his inspiration is not the Byzantine calligraphic ideal or the contemporary Roman forms. The master had grasped the meaning of classic simplified form, though besides this there is no doubt a direct recurrence to nature in shaping the classic types. What dignifies these serene images is a certain largeness and actuality and weight, lacking in Cavallini's Roman contemporaries, or in the exquisite Siennese offshoot of the Byzantine tradition in Duccio. But compared with Cimabue, or even with Giotto, the main impulse is not naturalistic. It is in the comprehension of the tradition behind him that we feel Cavallini's quality lies. He is not a pioneer in form. He felt behind the mediæval masks the lurking classic prototypes such as were still present in early Christian mosaics at Rome, and such as we know in Pompeian wall-paintings and Greek sculpture.

Cavallini may owe part of his progressive tendency to Cimabue, or even to Giotto. But he is more advanced in execution, more urbane, more classic than Cimabue, and he lacks Cimabue's passionate research, and also the freedom and the classic naturalism of Giotto. Superb as his art is, we can understand how in the temper of the Florentine public, familiar with Nicola Pisano's naturalism at Siena, and his dramatic spirit at Lucca, and with Cimabue's crude but passionate and human images, the Roman artist, through his reticence, would fail of

popular appeal. Yet, on the other hand, the praise of Cavallini by the Florentine sculptor Ghiberti, and his silence about Cimabue, is precisely what we should expect from Ghiberti's exquisite artistic character. He would not like Cimabue's primitive rudeness, nor quite see his grandeur.

Cavallini's *Late Works* (Naples, S. M. Donna Regina, 1308)<sup>1</sup> do not really advance farther. They are more complex than the S. Cecilia work, but not as important. Was he growing old? Did he leave too much to assistants? Robust, but descriptive rather than concentrated, he is, here, without refinement of motive, and falls at once to a secondary rank.

With Cavallini the native Roman School ended. Dependent upon the patronage of the Papal Court, it disappeared when the court was removed to Avignon in 1309. It was practically extinct just as the Florentine emerged into eminence, and although the Roman style survived side by side with that of Giotto (as in the Master of the S. Cecilia Altarpiece, and in the Romagna) it is henceforth of no importance.

<sup>1</sup> Vent., V, 153; questioned by some, as Bertaux and Hermanin, as too weak for Cavallini; connected by Venturi with Cavallini's employment at Naples by Charles II of Anjou in 1308.

# SIENA TO 1400<sup>1</sup>

## I

### DUCCIO

Active, 1279 to his death, 1319

At the end of the 13th century Roman painting, as we have seen, was on the point of disappearing as a separate school, and Central Italy was divided between the Schools of Florence and Siena.

To Siena, led by Duccio, is largely due the preservation of the order of the classic world for later art.

Sieneese art before 1275 did not differ essentially from other Italian art of its time. With Duccio, its first great master, and from his time onward, it settled itself into a well-defined character. He is definitely aloof from both the Cimabuesque mode and from the Roman. We have no account of his early training, and certain critics assume that he must have studied under a Byzantine master, perhaps even at Constantinople, to account for the manner—that of the typical craftsmen of Constantinople—which distinguishes him from all provincial painting of his time.<sup>2</sup> Duccio's art is usually estimated almost entirely on the basis of the famous *Majestas* of his middle period, finished in 1311 and installed with pomp in the Cathedral of Siena. No other

<sup>1</sup> The authors have borrowed freely from Mr. F. M. Perkins, the connoisseur of Sieneese art. Siena is the centre for the study of Sieneese art. In Northern Europe, Berlin, London, Buda-Pesth have important groups of paintings; elsewhere are scattered examples.

<sup>2</sup> For Siena, see C. & C. (the basic experts; but should be corrected by more recent critics); Vent., V (14th c.), VII (15th); B. B., F. Mason Perkins, articles in *Burl. Mag.*, *Rass. d'A.* (especially V, and IV, 147 ff., and 174, *La Pittura alla Mostra d'Arte antica in Siena*); *Rass. d'Arte Senese*; also by L. Douglas, *Cat. of the Burl. Fine Arts Club Exhib. of Pictures of the School of Siena, &c.*, London, 1904 (an important exhibition); Douglas' *Siena* for general history; Heywood's books for historical background; Hey. and Ol. See art. on Ventura of Siena, *Burl. Mag.*, VI, 1905, March, 491 f. Also Weigelt, *Duccio*.

work of his has anything like its significance. The Madonna enthroned against her rich gold background between ranks of attendant saints and angels, beautiful in colour, graceful in line and pattern; the accompanying panels of the Gothic frame, and the scenes from the Life and Passion of our Lord,<sup>1</sup> are interpreted with lively interest and subtle composition. It forms a worthy masterpiece upon which to found a school.

The *Crucifixion* in Earl Crawford's collection, probably a little later, illustrates Duccio's growth.<sup>2</sup> There is more careful observation and accurate drawing, the suppression of gold-shot draperies and caligraphic lines. He recasts everything into a pictorial idiom of his own. Quite early is the very beautiful little panel in the Siena Academy, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Three Worshipping Monks*, which is a gem of exquisite colour, design, and workmanship. Here is seen the origin of Simone Martini, and its ivory-like texture indicates the source of the marvellous surfaces of Lippo Memmi and Pietro Lorenzetti. One is reminded of the sensitiveness of the finest Japanese.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, there is the small triptych of the *Crucifixion with other Scenes*, Buckingham Palace,<sup>4</sup> where we can clearly see the capacity and limitations of the Duccesque ideal. The forms are quite like nature. There is an exquisite arrangement of every part. It is select, a product of high and long-established culture. Greek feeling is seen in the universality of types, in the restraint of emotion, in the suppression of detail. The figure of the Virgin, with head bowed and severely simple contour and draperies, is notable for its dignity and loveliness. But the master is concerned rather with the beauty of his theme than with its inner meaning.

In technical perfection Duccio is immensely Cimabue's superior, but how inferior in significance! The highest inner imagination is lacking. Even in form he does not possess the structural sense of Cimabue or Giotto, or even of Cavallini. He had not wrestled with the strenuous task of seeing for himself the truth of natural form. Yet, on the other hand, Duccio was a

<sup>1</sup> Originally covering the back of the altarpiece. For reconstruction, see Weigelt, *Duccio*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly by his pupil, Segna (Vent.); if so, it indicates growth in the school.

<sup>3</sup> This painting forms the basis of comparison for the attribution of the Rucellai Madonna to Duccio or to some Siennese master close to him (see p. 43).

<sup>4</sup> See *Burl. Mag.*, V, 351.

great formulator and teacher. He carried Byzantine forms as far, perhaps, as they can go toward perfection, and in them he profoundly influenced his whole school, and at a later stage indirectly affected Florentine art itself. Had Cimabue's influence, or Giotto's, dominated Sieneese ideals, we should have lost one of the most idyllic movements which Western civilisation has known.<sup>1</sup>

## II

Sieneese work must be seen *en masse* and in place for a true impression. Its setting and framework, its distinctly decorative intent, are essential to its genius.

Even a superficial observer carries away from Siena a memory of deep gold, of thrilling colour—blue and crimson—of soft tones, of brocaded stuffs, and inlay and ornament set into the very fabric of the painting. But it requires a peculiar sensitiveness fully to enter into the intimacies of its design, and to find a sufficient motive in the abstract content of its art. Its value to Italian art is immeasurable. For two centuries it treasured a cult of cumulative beauty—a beauty inseparable from technique—and it was an inspiration to which the more subtle souls of the dominant Florentine culture responded.

The classic canon of beauty thus inherited elevated Sieneese art above fashion or individual standards. The artist was expected to conform to accepted types. Invention was subordinated. The art repeated itself in an almost institutional scheme of composition. This cumulative quality is a positive virtue, and the result is far from petrification.

Winning and original masters appear from a high average level of craftsmanship. They have that definite, indescribable quality called style, which means a consistent conception as the basis for their design. While usually devotional, the themes admit of description and landscape, and there are a few historical and secular scenes and a few beautiful examples of pure portraiture. Many artists were both sculptors and painters. Several were world-famous architects. The other side is the narrow, inbred, at times nerveless resignation of the art to traditional authority.

<sup>1</sup> See examples of Duccio's school, N.Y. Hist. Soc., Bryan Coll., as *Crucifixion*. See Duccio's influence on Barnaba of Modena.

Fig. 6



MAJESTAS, Central Panel.  
Page 18 f.

*Linari.*

Duccio.

Opere del Duomo, Siena.



Fig. 7.



MADONNA WITH ANGELS AND WORSHIPPING MONKS,  
Page 19.

Duccio.

Lombardi.

Siena.

The school is singularly self-contained. The great body of Sienese art was executed for the city of Siena itself or for its dependencies in the surrounding country, and is to be found there to this day. It appears to owe little to other schools. The society lacked those larger European contacts which affected other states of Italy. The artist-body is without the intellectual inspiration which we find at Florence. The Sienese were jealous of Florence, and were not likely to follow her. While there is much influence of Pisan sculpture on earlier Sienese sculpture, it does not count vitally in painting.

By the end of the 15th century there was a practical extinction of initiative, and not till then did the kindred Umbrian style affect Siena. A little later came an eclectic acceptance of Florentine and other ideas, and the school died gradually in a graceful eclecticism in the 16th century. Yet it is hardly to be supposed, with the constant contact, friendly or hostile, between different states, that Sienese artists could have been ignorant of the fashions elsewhere; while, on the other hand, Sienese influence may be distinctly traced, at different periods, upon Umbrian and even Florentine artists.<sup>1</sup> During the century after Duccio and Giotto, the greatest Italian artists were Sienese—Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti—and were in demand in distant places—at Assisi, Pisa, Avignon, and elsewhere.

### III

#### SIMONE MARTINI

1285 (?)–1344

The influence of Duccio was carried into the following generation, in which Sienese painting deepens and broadens and becomes a consciously national school.

Two distinct streams of development may be traced. One, a progressive movement, was headed by the brothers Lorenzetti, and culminated in the second half of the 14th century in the great unknown master of the *Triumph of Death* (Pisa, Campo Santo). Another, the central Sienese movement, conservative

<sup>1</sup> Agnolo Gaddi, p. 66; Lorenzo Monaco; *Umbria*, p. 85; Allegretto Nuzi, &c.

more than progressive, is due to the genius of Simone Martini. In addition to these, a provincial condition of arrested development may be seen in the less gifted followers of Duccio, as Ugolino and Meo.

Between Duccio and Simone is the division between mediæval and modern painting in Siena. Simone, while he inherits the customary forms, is evidently a man of his own time and place.

His patrons were of the most high-born and cultivated classes, and he probably lived in intimate relation with them. He certainly did so at Avignon, where he and Petrarch were friends.

The great *Altarpiece* of the Duomo in Siena by Duccio was completed in 1311. Four years later, in all probability, Simone Martini finished the fresco of the *Majestas* of the Palazzo Pubblico.<sup>1</sup>

These two Madonna pictures are perhaps the greatest monumental examples of their theme in Early Renaissance Italian art, the most splendid imaging forth of the Virgin and Child enthroned. This idea is common to all Late Mediæval representations, but it is richly developed in the Siennese imagination, and it is interesting that Simone now applies it to a civic purpose. He enthrones the Madonna over the counsels of an actively commercial commonwealth.

The elaborate canopy, the detail of the throne, and the richness of the Virgin's robe are indications of a new element in religious art—a love of material life and beauty.

To be sure, in both Duccio and the Byzantines, the quality of ornamental richness—partly Oriental in origin—is present, but it is generally restrained by symbolism. In Simone the symbolic conception yields to a conception of visual fact. And with this comes the change toward naturalism in form. The composition, though still formal, evinces more variety. The Queen of Heaven and the Divine Child are no longer abstract types, but idealised individuals. The kneeling angels and saints tend to express gesture.

The types in Duccio and the Byzantines which seem drawn from life are copied from earlier masters, and the general artistic influence of the Roman school or of Giotto or of Nicola Pisano

<sup>1</sup> C. & C., III, 32.

is perhaps discoverable in this modification in Simone.<sup>1</sup> But the contrast between Simone and the close imitators of Duccio—as Ugolino, Segna, and Meo—indicates that Simone's progressive qualities are partly due to a larger spiritual horizon in himself.

The colours of Simone's *Majestas* are changed. The background of rich blue is darkened nearly to a slate colour, and only in bits here and there are the original tones preserved; and still the effect of it, filling the entire end of the large hall, is one of magnificence, of gold halos and yellowish and reddish hair, of warm, ruddy undertones beneath the pallid flesh, with hints of blue and other drapery. The Virgin's robe carries its suggestion of silver and gold thread—a favourite combination of Simone's—and the splendour of tracery behind the Virgin and on the platform below is characteristic.

The type of face derived directly from Duccio may be noted in some figures;<sup>2</sup> and the type that is distinctly Simone's own appears in others.<sup>3</sup> This difference in types is due to the partial repainting of the picture by Simone himself, a few years after it was first completed, when his own individual manner had become more formed, though even here the origin may be found in Duccio's angels. This Madonna better than any in the Proto-Renaissance combines a Greek sense of beauty with contemporary human feeling, and even in its ruin measures the nobility of Simone's conception.

The best place, however, to study Simone's colour and general qualities is in the frescoed chapel at Assisi, which presents one of the most beautiful impressions in all Italian art. The general effect of the ceiling and the side walls illustrates the Renaissance gift for complete interior decoration. Mr. Berenson speaks of his "types of beauty, strange and penetrating (Japanese, Egyptian)."<sup>4</sup> In general the type of face is that of Simone's matured genius. The evident portrait inspiration is a new note. But the angels of the *Assumption of S. Martin* show the Duccesque character.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the series the colours are subtly harmonious with golden and silver whites, delicate purples and blues,

<sup>1</sup> See C. & C., It. ed., III, 38, and *n.*

<sup>2</sup> See angel with lilies, 2nd row on R., and female S. behind him, and corresponding angel on L.

<sup>3</sup> See figs. in lower row; two SS. R. and L. of throne, and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Cent. It. Painters*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> See C. & C., III, 46, for his Oriental types.

touches of reds and yellows, gold and silver, tender greens and illusive greys. The impression of loveliness deepens into one of magnificence. The architecture is delicate, often miniature-like, as in the *Funeral of S. Martin*. One of the most beautiful of the series is the *Death and Apotheosis of S. Martin*. Here are dignity and variety of composition, tenderness of expression, a command over colour in the interwoven gold and silver of the foreground group against the silver-white of the figures behind, in the notes of rose and green, in the monk's grey-brown robe, and the touches of blue sky. The values of darks and lights are often very fine, as in *S. Martin before the Emperor*, with the dark grey spears and red shields against the yellow-white tents and golden yellow soldiery on the right.

Among Simone's panel pictures the *Annunciation* at Florence is well-nigh perfect.<sup>1</sup> In the sense for typical beauty of countenance and the rhythmical flow of hair, in the purity of contours and the finely tempered suggestion of movement, there is a Greek-like instinct for the inner music of form. To this is added a touch of Oriental subtlety and wealth of colour, and the olive wreath, branch, and lily recall the naturalism of the French mediæval sculptors. We are on our way to a freer art.

Everything of Simone's is beautiful, and no preference can be just to him. The fine *Altarpiece* in S. Lorenzo at Naples and its beautiful predella pieces are striking in all respects, including their connection in style with the S. Martin series at Assisi. The little panels of the *Crucifixion* and *Descent from the Cross* at Antwerp, and of the *Way to Golgotha* in the Louvre, are marvellously original and dainty, but rather descriptive than religious in feeling.

For five years Simone worked for the Papal Court, then established in Provence. The wall-paintings attributed to him at Avignon in the Papal Palace and the Cathedral are apparently by pupils, or by native Provençal or French artists working under his influence, and have interest mainly for their influence upon French painting.

The execution of Simone's work by assistants is never of importance, as far as we know. Simone's mind, except perhaps at

<sup>1</sup> Assistance by Lippo Memmi seems confined mainly to the ornamentation of the altarpiece; doc. in Mil.'s *Doc. Sen.*, I, 218, as quoted by C. & C., III, 49, n. 1.

Avignon, always dominated any important work in which he was engaged. His closest pupil, Lippo Memmi, exhibits his personality as an artist only in independent work.

The first impression of Simone's work is of magnificent decoration. On a closer acquaintance we recognise a cultivated master of form, distinguished for his artist's dignity and impeccable in execution. But Simone, like Sieneſe artists generally, in the larger historical perspective, typifies conservative rather than progressive elements, and his defects are the defects of his qualities and his tradition.

There is more of beauty than truth to nature. Compare the S. Francis by Cimabue and that by Simone in the North Transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. Simone images an ideal and sickly saintliness. Cimabue shows an actual man.

He has no great intellectual or moral message, and he sometimes loses the significance of his themes, as in the treatment of the *Passion of Our Lord* at Antwerp and the Louvre. His art is not, like Giotto's, epoch-making. He is even surpassed in single qualities by other masters of his school. The fine *Madonna* by Segna (?) at Città di Castello is more serious. The unknown Master of the Triumph of Death has a grander mind. Sassetta is more imaginative and religious. Pietro Lorenzetti is a more searching draughtsman. But there is an unſailing distinction in Simone's work, a masterly adaptation of means to ends, an idealism at once individual and sensitive to the Byzantine-Greek spirit, which lifts his art into the sphere of pure beauty.

*Note.*—The *Legend of Beato Agostino Novello* in S. Agostino at Siena is classed by Berenson as a late work of Simone. If so it is a remarkable advance upon his usual style of draughtsmanship, especially in its definiteness of contour and movement. It also exhibits a discursive and inventive sort of narrative which no other example of the master possesses.

We suspect that this triptych is by another hand. It is very fine and close to Simone in the treatment of the saint's head, but recalls also Traini, and especially Pietro Lorenzetti.

It has Pietro's quality of plastic suggestiveness in the contours and of vivid action. If it is by Simone, one would understand how Pietro might be Simone's pupil. The argument would be that Pietro's manner was derived from Simone as seen in this triptych. But, then, it ought not to be a late work, but an early one, as we know that Pietro was independently active in 1305 (that is, early in Simone's career). Also no other example of Simone suggests a direct relationship to Pietro. And this in itself is enough to make us at least question the attribution to Simone. Again, Pietro is easily the most original of the artists of his time, and even if he were a Simone pupil, he felt no strong influence from his master; Pietro is Simone's opposite.

## IV

## THE SCHOOL OF SIMONE MARTINI

There was little room for a movement carrying out Simone's ideals in Siena, as the more discursive painting of the Lorenzetti soon dominated the school.

**Memmi**, — ?-1357?—Yet there are several followers of importance, among whom the closest imitator is Lippo Memmi, a master who inherited an exquisite craft and shows gracious feeling, but is entirely without independence. This is seen in the *Majestas*<sup>1</sup> of S. Gemignano (1317), which copies, in a harder style, the *Majestas* of Simone painted two years earlier. Among many small votive *Madonnas*, that in the Berlin Gallery is the most winning and life-like, but we may also mention the *Madonna* of the Belle Arti, Siena (formerly of the Church of the Servi), and the signed *Madonna of Mercy*, Orvieto Cathedral, an attractive but feeble work.

**Barna** (active c. 1369-1380), best known for his series of impressive, if constrained, *Frescoes* in S. Gemignano, is the most archaic, and among the most serious of this group. He reminds one of Duccio and Simone at times, as in the panel of *Christ Bearing the Cross* (Benson collection, London), and is evidently influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti, but is an independent and strong painter in his own way.

**Traini**, middle of 14th century.<sup>2</sup>—Francesco Traini is another. He worked at Pisa, and has left there several altar-pieces, as the *S. Thomas Aquinas*, a strange and rather imposing archaic work. His style approaches that of the Florentine Orcagna in its classic severity, relieved by considerable genre feeling in the treatment of small episodes.

And in the same group should be mentioned the archaic but gracious **LIPPO DI VANNI** (not to be confounded with the later Andrea Vanni). The important frescoes of the *Seven Sacraments*, etc. (Church of the Inconata, Naples),<sup>3</sup> are of the school, and are, indeed, close to Simone himself. They should further be

<sup>1</sup> Two figures at R. end added by Ben. Gozzoli.

<sup>2</sup> Accounted a Pisan artist. See C. & C., Dent, I, 380, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Vent., V, 638-49, for description.

noticed for the classic, decorative features, as putti holding garlands, which appear later in Masolino and the early Renaissance Florentine masters.

But for the most fertile development of Simone's style we must look beyond Italy. It is mainly through Sieneſe art that French ſtyle becomes rationaliſed, as it were, loſing its late Gothic extravagances. Simone's influence upon Franco-Flemiſh painting, now firſt riſing to independent conſciouſneſs, may be illuſtrated by the famous organ doors by Brenderlam, in the Muſeum of Dijon; and at Avignon Simone left a native ſchool behind him which in turn ſent an influence ſouthward to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

## V

## THE LORENZETTI

PIETRO, active 1305-1348; AMBROGIO, active 1323-1348

With the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti we ſee a transformation of the Sieneſe ideals. The Lorenzetti introduce a ſpecifically deſcriptive ſtyle, and their ſchool, therefore, became of great hiſtorical importance. The method of panoramic deſcriptive compoſition, implicit indeed in mediæval art but never freely developed, originated with the Lorenzetti. They received important commiſſions, but their works were neglected by later generations, and it is only within recent years that adequate criticism has diſtinguiſhed between the two brothers, and even between them and their followers.

Their work, except for ſtray examples, is on Sieneſe territory, and mainly conſiſts of injured frieſcoes, of blackened panels, and diſmembered altarpieces, the latter, with ſome exceptions, gathered into the Siena Academy. They were leſs popular than Simone, and left behind them but the remnants of a ſchool. The profound and ſomewhat ſombre character of their art has little in common with Simone's lighter ſpirit, and although they appar-

<sup>1</sup> See Fry, arts. on French Primitives, *Burl. Mag.*, VII, 435-45, and *Bull. Metropol. Mus. of N.Y.*, II, 77 ff., May 1907, on work of Borassa. Arcangelo da Camerino, of Simone's following, is almoſt French in ſtyle yet Giottesque. *Reprod. L'Arte*, XIII, 377-81. The influence of the Sieneſe-Provençal ſtyle may alſo be ſeen in certain Venetian pictures of the time, as a *Madonna* by Lorenzo, Louvre. This remarkable relationship needs further ſtudy; ſee p. 79, n. 4.



ently learned their technique from Simone, they show greater affinity for Duccio. The brothers are alike in certain qualities—in technique and draughtsmanship, in their naturalism, and their descriptive instinct. In other directions they differ.

Pietro, though strongly individual, is especially Duccesque in form. But we cannot be certain of his early education. Mr. Berenson sees Giovanni Pisano's influence, and some see that of Giotto. Mr. Perkins makes him the direct pupil of Duccio.

Inventive, a marvel in his adaptability and versatility, often a poet, often mere improvisatore, he is at once the most mediæval and the most modern of trecento Siense. Though usually more austere, he can at his best be almost as tender and gracious as his younger brother. As a whole, his personality seems a little unbalanced—powerful but erratic, and not often beautiful.

Pietro's most serious work is where he interprets the religious tradition, as in the large *Polyptych* (early, signed 1320), in the Duomo at Arezzo. Here beside the human touches are great fervour and passion.<sup>1</sup> A very fine example is the exquisite *Madonna* at Assisi—a fresco like an altarpiece in shape and position, in a shaded corner. The background of gold, of a wonderfully rich and luring quality, the "enamel" effect, the searching solemnity of expression, carry Pietro's highest mood. His best examples of naturalism are mature and late works, as the *Birth of the Virgin*, a Gothic triptych in the Opera del Duomo, Siena (1342). It vividly describes an actual birth-scene, and the drawing, while incorrect, is nervous and individual.

In fresco, Pietro's greatest work is the ruined *Crucifixion* in Siena. Even in its damaged state it is wonderfully solid in painting, and full of dignity and reticence. To this may be added the fresco of *S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* at Assisi, which may well set a standard for all other illustrations of the subject. Sometimes Pietro's religious pictures are trivial or painfully exaggerated or even vulgar. In the other frescoes at Assisi—*Scenes from the Passion*—he bears none of the marks of his greatness. The compositions are crowded, the meaning obscure. The contrast between the *Crucifixion* here and at Siena is extra-

<sup>1</sup> Also in the beautiful Duccio-like *Madonna*, Cortona, and that of 1316, Uffizi.

Fig. 8.



MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH S. FRANCIS AND S. JOHN.  
Page 28.

PETRO LORENZETTI.

N. Transept, Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

*Alinari.*

Fig. 9.



WORLDLY PLEASURE.  
Detail.

*Brogi.*

Fig. 10.



Detail of TRIUMPH OF DEATH.  
THREE LIVING AND THREE DEAD.  
Page 33.

*Brogi.*

ordinary. The types are his (see realistic Old Hebrew among the decorative heads of the border, and the Judas of the *Betrayal*) and there is bold innovation in details, as in the bits of vivid if vulgar realism in the Passion scenes. But it is well for his fame that it does not rest upon these works. We turn with relief to the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Siena Academy. Nothing by Duccio or Simone has such abstract, hieratic power. The Virgin is enthroned against her gold background, monumental, withdrawn like a Buddha—surrounded by mystical presences. It is pure religious symbolism. A very interesting work ascribed tentatively to Pietro is the *Allegory* (Siena), with Christ on the Cross, in a hilly landscape, and penitential scenes from Genesis, where the open landscape is as important as the action, and the effect is not the less strange and mystic for the natural grouping.

But in spite of Pietro's power and originality, his temperament was too narrow and too erratic to establish the new movement. This found in his younger and less uneven brother a more consistent leader.

In *Ambrogio* we have a strong, sympathetic, and balanced personality, a humanist in spirit, with a tendency toward naturalism more highly developed than in any preceding master. With him we are at home in Siena itself. He is an intimate character-painter of his countrymen.

Probably at first a pupil or imitator of his brother, as is seen in some of his early, genre-like predella-pieces, he differed from Pietro by making a steady advance from his early to his latest manner. Duccio's direct influence is also marked in his early work, as in the noble *Altarpiece* at Massa Marittima<sup>1</sup> (about 1330). It is seen in the quiet and human *Four Saints* (Opera del Duomo, Siena), which expresses also a new union of form and intimate emotion, and shows an original colour scheme, a harmony of reds with deep blues and gold. As early as 1326 the entire independence of the artist is marked.

Ambrogio is most clearly connected with the school tradition in his rare panel pictures, where the scheme is little changed from the Ducesque canon, yet where his art is more specific

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Ghiberti and Vas., I, 523, n. 5, and described by Gaye. Described and reprod. by F. M. Perkins, *Burl. Mag.*, V, 81-5.

and realistic than any previous painting of the school. The formal composition enhances the essential naturalism by which he moves us most, and some of his panels must rank with the most perfect works of Sienese painting.

A fragmentary *Altarpiece* in the Siena Gallery is perhaps his earliest known work. It is injured by neglect and repainting, but parts are still fairly intact, and here already are not only his form, but his passion and feeling. The Magdalen and S. Dorothy show subtlety in drawing and exquisite refinement of sentiment. The predella is a dramatic *Deposition* which is full of poetry, of surprises in delicacy and rhythm of line, in depth of colour and mystery. In composition it became the model for later pietàs.<sup>1</sup> In this early picture and in two little landscapes<sup>2</sup> of rare lyric quality hanging near by, mere scraps of painting, appears a subtle grey tone, leading the eye into depths of melting colour.

In the next early example, a panel, *The Madonna Nursing the Christ-Child* (Oratory adjoining S. Francesco, Siena), the Virgin is archaic in type, but how human, tender, and lovely! The impression is spiritual yet real—the weight of the Child in the yielding, supporting clasp of the Mother's hands, the delicate modelling about the eyes and brows of the Infant, the composition, simple, yet full of grace and variety of line, the gold background and figured halos; the Sienese sense for colour and for wrought fabrics, the reds and blues and greens, and delicate shades of tint, the yellow lights on the Child's reddish curls, the quiet tone. It is a masterpiece.

The *Presentation*, in Florence (Academy), is after the altarpiece at Massa Marittima, the most elaborate of Ambrogio's panel pictures. The predella (*Life of S. Nicholas of Bari*) especially illustrates a quite novel type of composition, in which the symmetrical Byzantine patterns are relaxed and a freer style is substituted. This style does not imitate casual appearance—it is generalised and concentrated—yet it admits a closer use of nature and a just relation between action and background.

In Ambrogio's more mature period, the *Annunciation* (Siena, 1344), though still mediæval, is classic in form and more modern than any other work of the master. It consists of two figures,

<sup>1</sup> See three examples in Siena Acad.

<sup>2</sup> Attrib. to P. Lorenzetti by Hey. & Ol.

the Virgin seated, expectant, the angel reverential, awed, close before her—no other intruding objects. Compare Simone's *Annunciation* of the Uffizi, painted eleven years earlier—a decorative fantasy. Ambrogio's picture meant to him and his patrons an interpretation of a sacred theme in terms of actual life. The tradition is transformed.

Another illustration of the mature period is the small *Madonna Enthroned* (Siena)—a perfect example of Ambrogio's most exquisite style, wrought with the finished handicraft that was Siena's precious inheritance from the East. It shines with jewel-like colour and shows the master's comprehension of line in his gracious, bending saints, and his human sympathy in the intent faces of the kneeling Church fathers.

Of Ambrogio's frescoes, the important works come in his maturity. Of early frescoes there are only fragments. Two damaged early frescoes in outline only (in S. Francesco, Siena), *S. Francis before the Pope*, and a *Martyrdom of Saints*, recall Simone Martini, but they give little hint of the masterpieces of the Palazzo Pubblico to follow seven years later. Indeed, Ambrogio's fresco-painting cannot be traced earlier than the year 1331, unless we accept certain almost ruined works (Servi, Siena).<sup>1</sup>

His masterpiece in fresco is the defaced decoration of the three walls of the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena.<sup>2</sup> The subject is civic. It symbolises *Good and Bad Government* and their respective results. On the end wall the Sovereign Commune, a colossal male presence, is surrounded by the Virtues, or celestial visitants. Concord and Justice, noble and gracious women, are seated on thrones, while below mounted soldiers guard their prisoners, and a procession of honourables files past, holding the emblematic cord of concord. The two side walls are filled with scenes symbolising on the one hand *Security*, with the peaceful activities of the city and country-side; on the other *Tyranny*, surrounded by the Vices against a background of confusion and ravage. Though ruined, the effect is of the most splendid colour, in a highly original scheme of wine colours and yellows, greens and golden-greys, warm and deep—a scheme through which we have glimpses of inexhaustible details of intimate feeling.

<sup>1</sup> Conjecturally Ambrogio's (B. B.). Certainly not by Ambrogio (Perkins).

<sup>2</sup> Well described by Symonds, *Renaiss. in Italy*, 1877, III, 210.

Yet the ensemble is disappointing—the ill-balanced arrangement of the end wall (*Good Government*) and of the side wall (*Bad Government and its Results*); the jarring intrusion of the flying genius in the *Results of Good Government*; the city architecture stretched out almost like scene-painting—even as pattern the scenes lack unity of design. Yet the room has decorative appropriateness. And it is a document of manners and customs. The actual Siena in its Campagna is presented to us—the Loggie and towers, the narrow streets, the people in trade and agriculture. Even on the wall most damaged (*Bad Government*) there are scraps of colour and design that give more than a hint of beauty. The horseman issuing from the gate on the left composes like a figure by Velasquez.

On the end wall the massed group of spearmen must originally have formed a marvellous pattern of colour, and still is full of harmony. Single figures can be picked out here and there, as *Peace* with its sensitive variety of whites, the folds of her garment—a gift from Duccio.

On the entrance wall, the noble left-hand group shows a fine pattern of contrasting colours and darks. The grey-white horse, with black trappings, is relieved against the red and black of the ladies behind. There are other entertaining groups—the house-builders on a scaffolding; the pack-donkeys; the gamesters.

Ambrogio is no mere illustrator. The landscape, while without much elemental suggestion, is the most notable example of a decorative use of landscape on a large scale in European art before our own times. The defect in the work is perhaps a confusion of ideals. No one conception dominates. At one end the artist presents hieroglyphic allegory, elsewhere naturalism and genre. Yet with all defects, what early pictorial treatise is more delightful or offers such a succession of entertaining incidents?

## VI

PISAN "TRIUMPH OF DEATH"<sup>1</sup>

After Ambrogio, the unknown "Master of the Triumph of Death" is the remarkable personality of the School. On the walls of the cloisters in the Pisan Campo Santo the allegorical and descriptive style of Ambrogio Lorenzetti is carried on by this master with less refinement but with superb power in the famous series of "moralities"—*The Triumph of Death*; *Last Judgment and Inferno*; and the *Thebaid*, or the monks in the Theban desert.

In the *Triumph of Death*<sup>2</sup> there are two distinct subjects—*The Three Living and the Three Dead*, where three mounted courtiers are stopped in all the eager pride of life by three corpses in their coffins lying across their path; and the *Vanity of Worldly Pleasure*, represented by a group of ladies and gentlemen idling in an orange grove, oblivious of the imminent Genius of Death descending with bat-like wings. These are loosely connected by a subordinate motive of supplicating cripples,<sup>3</sup> and behind there is a background of episodes—the life of hermits in their mountain cells as contrasting with the worldly life, and demons contending with angels over human souls.

Such representations are common in Romanesque and Gothic sculpture of Northern Europe and in mediæval painting. The terrible plague that came to Italy through Genoa and Pisa in 1348–50 may have intensified the popular imagination on such themes; but it is with the artistic expression that we are concerned. The mediævalism, the vulgarity in detail, may be obtrusive, but to the expert in the handwriting of painting, all crudities are forgotten in the sheer vigour of expression. The pattern is irregular, but not loose. The characterisation escapes the burden of naturalistic detail, yet nothing could more grip one with reality. The humour and satire is unique in Italy. Minds

<sup>1</sup> For inscriptions see *L'Arte*, II, 51–87. See L. B. Supino, *Il Campo Santo di Pisa*, Flor. 1896. Perkins and others make the master Pisan, not Sienese.

<sup>2</sup> Retouched, but the original colour dominates.

<sup>3</sup> See Ruskin's interpretation, *op. cit.*, XII, 223–4, in *Lectures on Art and Painting*, and XII, 146–7, in *ibid.*, Lecture IV, *Pre-Raphaelism*.



of this sort are not our daily delight. They come in times of stress and moral transition. The artist has the extreme poetic power to visualise mystery itself. The pictures have the true stamp of the epic—a play of episodes about the most stupendous themes. The panorama of the hermits in the *Thebaid*<sup>1</sup> is idyllic and yet actual enough with the domesticities of the desert, the fishing and the cooking, and the pretty behoofed, demonic ladies in red, who try the virtues of the saints. The drawing is not in the scientific tradition. It is intuitive, brusque, but always masterly.

There is nothing in Siena exactly to match the artist, and nothing in Florence. It is generally admitted, however, from the style, that the master is an offshoot of the Lorenzetti—rather of Ambrogio than of Pietro—and that the four scenes are by the same hand.<sup>2</sup> And at present with this we must be content.

## VII

### SPANISH CHAPEL<sup>3</sup>

Another famous piece of monumental wall-painting is closely connected with the Sienese school. This is the Spanish Chapel, opening off the cloisters of the Church of S. M. Novella, which was assigned to the use of the Spanish Embassy and residents in Florence. It was built in 1350 and decorated soon after.

This spacious room with vaulted ceiling, well lighted by the large windows overlooking the cloister, is entirely covered with an effective decoration of frescoes. The series is of interest as an expression of the Dominican thought of the age, and as such is to be contrasted with the Franciscan cycles. There seems to be a mingling of Florentine and Sienese artistic style. The side walls are modified Sienese; the four scenes of the vaulting are Giottesque. Ruskin justly sees a distinction between the gay colour

<sup>1</sup> Damaged. Free reproductions in panels (Uffizi and elsewhere) are attrib. insecurely to P. Lorenzetti.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. & C. & Thode. For a less favourable opinion of the artist, see Venturi. The adjoining *Calvary*, repainted in part, seems to us by a weaker artist.

<sup>3</sup> For description see Vent., V, 778 ff.; Lindsay, *Hist. of Christian Art* (1847), II, 75, 80, 272; Ruskin, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 365-408, 436-53, *Mornings in Florence*, with fine appreciation, but mistaken attributions. Attrib. by Vas., I, 581, to Tad. Gaddi and Sim. Martini. Rumohr was the first to question this.

tone of the Sienese portions and the Florentine. On the broad altar wall opposite the entrance is the *Procession to Calvary* leading up to the *Crucifixion* and followed by the *Descent into Hades*. On one side wall is the *Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas* with allegorical figures emblematic of abstract themes—Virtues, the Liberal Arts, etc. On the other the *Church Militant and Triumphant*, representing scenes in the struggle of truth on earth and the entrance of the Blessed into Heaven. On the entrance wall is the *Life of S. Peter Martyr*. The four vaulting subjects correspond in idea to those below. Modern critics generally agree in assigning the vaulting, except the *Ascension*, to Antonio Veneziano, and the *Ascension* to another pupil of Taddeo Gaddi;<sup>1</sup> the *Navicella* is a free copy of Giotto's mosaic at Rome. The *Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas* and the remaining works seem Sienese<sup>2</sup> and are given on grounds of style to the obscure Andrea da Firenze,<sup>3</sup> a Florentine artist of Sienese training, who, working in the larger milieu at Florence, rises to a higher level than elsewhere.

The series is intellectual rather than emotional. It is literary and disconnected. As compared to the best Giottesque or Sienese work of the period it lacks character and variety. In the *Church Militant and Triumphant* the attempt to express Dominican doctrine by concrete allegory is novel but inept, with the entertaining but trivial symbolism of the black and white dogs (the colours of the Dominican habit) tearing the wolves; and the introduction of the Florence Duomo is awkward. Nor do the Giottesque frescoes on the ceiling rise above the level of the rest. Yet, in spite of the limited gifts of secondary artists, it has beauty both as a decorative ensemble and in many single passages. The frescoes of the vaulting are harmonious with the scheme. The *Liberal Arts* (as the Music) and their historical illustrations, and the *Theological Virtues*, contain more gracious passages and reflect the charm of earlier Sienese work. They are finer than the *Calvary* and the *Church Militant and Triumphant*. Andrea, if it be he, here shows himself a gentle spirit, a graceful decorator and gay colourist.

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed in part to Tad. Gaddi.

<sup>2</sup> The upper part seems Giottesque, and supports Vasari's idea of Tad. Gaddi's school being involved.

<sup>3</sup> To Andrea Buonaiuti, called da Firenze (made will in 1377), Sirén, *Giottino*, ascribes a beautiful little *Magdalen*, Beckerath Coll., Berlin. See Fry's review, *Burl. Mag.*, XV, 54.

## VIII

OTHER FOLLOWERS OF SIMONE MARTINI  
AND THE LORENZETTI

The late 14th century, in Siena as in Florence, is a period of artistic quiet. Religious enthusiasm (in 1380 S. Catherine died and S. Bernardino was born) did not replace civic patriotism as an artistic stimulus.

Following Simone and the Lorenzetti are groups of men partly influenced by both, or showing special affiliations with one or the other school. Among these secondary men is PAOLO DI MAESTRO NERI, who covered the cloisters of the convent of Lecceto, near Siena, with lively descriptive frescoes (1343) suggestive of the ideas and manners of the time; and the whimsical LUCA TOMÉ (active 1355-1392), unmistakable from a peculiar dry, yet racy mannerism, and from his type of the Infant Jesus. His fresco *Madonna, Four Saints, etc.*, in S. Francesco (Sacristy), Siena, is one of the most attractive works of the time.<sup>1</sup> Both men show the influence of the Lorenzetti. On the other hand, Barna and di Fredi (with his associate Fei), both seen in important frescoes in S. Gemignano, are followers of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi. Following these are Andrea Vanni and Taddeo di Bartolo (about 1362-1422), an important pupil of di Fredi.

All these painters in style come fairly within the 14th century. Then come their followers of the first and second generations, extending from 1400 nearly through the 15th century: men showing to some degree modifying Renaissance influences, but still consistently Sienese. These were Sassetta (1392-1450), an original genius, but a pupil of Fei, and directly in the line of the di Fredi school; Domenico di Bartolo (1400-1449); Sano di Pietro; Matteo di Giovanni (about 1435-1495), pupil of Domenico and influenced by Sano; and finally Vecchietta (about 1412-1480) and his followers.

**Bartolo, 1330-1410.**—Bartolo di Maestro Fredi was an important teacher as well as painter, and worked in partnership on several occasions with Luca Tomé. He is in general delicate and

<sup>1</sup> In our opinion not retouched. Attrib. by B. B. to P. Lorenzetti, by Perkins, *Rass. a'A. Senese*, to Luca Tomé, by De Nicola to Lippo Vanni.

Fig. 11.



ANDREA VANNI.

POLYPTYCH.  
Page 37.

*Lombarus.*

S. Stefano, Siena.

FIG. 12.



*B. Berenson.*

APOTHEOSIS OF S. FRANCIS,  
Page 39,

É. SASSETTA.

Berenson Collection Florence.

refined, with a careful technique which indicates Memmi as his master, and he has great artistic decorative sense. His debt to Pietro Lorenzetti is shown in the *Angels* and the *Virgin of the Siena Academy*. He surprises us in the series of *Frescoes with Old Testament subjects* (1370)<sup>1</sup> at S. Gemignano by a freedom of design that is quite modern. Though they are without much monumental feeling, they have many original and winning qualities as decoration. His panel pictures (Siena) are less interesting, but in Philadelphia there is a predella—a *Dead Christ and Saints*, which is remarkably fine and severe.

Vanni,<sup>2</sup> b. in Siena c. 1333-1414?—Andrea Vanni, one of the important men in the di Fredi following, was a politician and man of affairs. In 1353 he was associated in work with di Fredi, and a line of documents attest his movements. In early manhood he was active in the uprising that brought in the "Reformation" (1368), and thereafter held various offices. In later years he was one of the many friends of the sainted Catherine Benincasa, with whom he exchanged letters, and whose likeness he painted,<sup>3</sup> and he worked as far away as Naples and Sicily. His work has an archaic vein. He is direct, with less grace than di Fredi, but yet has great beauty in certain examples. His keynote is simplicity. Like di Fredi, he was influenced by both Simone and the Lorenzetti, but he is without Simone's subtlety and enamel-like finish, and retains a strongly marked individuality of his own.

The *Polyptych* in S. Stefano (Siena) is a great example of his style, painted when he was nearly seventy (1400). Here the flat silhouette character of the design, the type of child, and the Baptist are Simone's (and Memmi's), the upright pose and severe drapery are Ambrogio's. The Virgin's face and the SS. James and Stephen are Vanni's own. The *Annunciation* has Vanni's vigour and individuality, while the figures in the pinnacle recall di Fredi and Tomé. But these reminiscences are outer details; in decorative colour and design, in mysterious power of beauty, this is one of the great pictures of Siena. A most interesting test

<sup>1</sup> Much repainted. For subjects see C. & C.

<sup>2</sup> See article by F. M. Perkins, *Burl. Mag.*, II, 309 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For authoritative Life of S. Catherine of Siena see that of Edmund G. Gardner (London and N. Y., 1908). See also *Saint Catherine of Siena as seen in her Letters*, by Vida D. Scudder (Dent, 1905); *The Disciple of a Saint*, a romance of the time of S. Catherine, by Vida D. Scudder (Dent, 1907).

of style is the free *Copy* (S. Pietro Ovile, Siena)<sup>1</sup> by Vanni of Simone Martini's *Annunciation* (Uffizi), with its fine olive branch and sensitive types. The Virgin's head, the angel, the stiff position, the straight drapery, are all Vanni's—contrasting with Simone's ease and grace but showing greater character than the original. There are other beautiful examples, as the dignified *Annunciation*, Saracini collection, and the characteristic and charming little *Virgin and Child* (Mr. Berenson's collection). The *S. Catherine portrait*, so interesting historically, is a fine decorative design, but gives slight idea of the author's general style.

Taddeo, c. 1362-1422.<sup>2</sup>—Taddeo di Bartolo is more important for influence in the school than Vanni, and is the last of the artists of the pure Duccesque strain. A pupil of Bartolo di Fredi and a bolder painter than di Fredi, he became the head of the school, and had numerous followers throughout Italy. He painted as far north as Pisa and south to Naples, and eastward through Umbria, where he had immense influence on Umbrian art. He is a steady, gifted, not brilliant talent, with a fine instinct for movement and form, and seems almost semi-Florentine in temperament. He has a dual character, representing the tradition of the early masters combined with a greater realism—a realism in which he is nevertheless not quite at home. At times his panel technique is enamel-like and compares with Memmi. Single heads show expressive types, as in the *Polyptych* at S. Gemignano, which is serene and intimate in feeling. The most important of his *Altarpieces* are at Montepulciano (1401, Duomo) and in Perugia (*Polyptych*). A fine example in the same style—Taddeo's best in Siena—is the *Altarpiece* in the Chapel of the Confraternity of S. Catherine (under the hospital). This shows his characteristic red, blue, and green, and the S. John which he repeats many times in his life. The rather later frescoes, *Death of the Virgin*, etc. (1407-1414), in the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, where classic heroes first appear in Siena, are looser and less dignified than the earlier.

In this connection mention should be made of the ornamental

<sup>1</sup> B. B.; attrib. by Sassetta, Ed. C. & C., III, 130 n.; an early Matteo, Perkins. See C. & C., Dent. Three panels above not connected with picture.

<sup>2</sup> See C. & C. and Vent., V, 751-8.

“Gothic” MAESTRO GREGORIO,<sup>1</sup> and of ANDREA DI BARTOLO,<sup>2</sup> a worthy follower of Bartolo di Fredi and a fine colourist.

With the death of Taddeo di Bartolo (1422) the 14th century ideals, which he had revived, yielded to new motives.

The painters of the following generation are divided into two groups. One is conservative, but inspired by the religious emotion of the age, an emotion reinforced by the cult of S. Catherine and the preaching of S. Bernardino, and from this impulse comes Sassetta, the most remarkable Sieneese master of the quattrocento. The other group, in part reflecting Florentine humanism, is centred in Vecchietta.

Sassetta,<sup>3</sup> 1392–1450, active from c. 1427.—Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, is in general a descendant through Fei di Bartolo di Fredi (see the curiously attractive altarpiece, *Madonna and SS.*, S. Domenico, Cortona). His early affiliations of style, however, are obscure, although there are effects derived from the Lorenzetti, and there are touches of Taddeo di Bartolo. The indelible beauty of Sassetta's every work is in his highly imaginative conception, based upon nature and free from merely pietistic sentiment. This reality of vision is shown in the striking *Mystic Betrothal to Poverty* (Chantilly Gallery), where the landscape is a view of *Monte Amiata*; and in the *Predella Panels* in Berlin and in Mr. Platt's collection, where with all the artist's suggestiveness of mystery he can be a naturalist in colour, like the Dutch. He here feels the grey tones of nature, and the artistic value of the monkish habit.

But the thrilling quality of his imagination may be found especially in *The Apotheosis of S. Francis* (Berenson collection).<sup>4</sup> This ecstatic, mystical image of Brother Francis, uplifted by angels above a vista of hills and sea, unites in the manner of far-Eastern Buddhist painters the rarest æsthetic satisfaction, with a vivid realisation of the sublime temper of Christian faith.

At this point we turn back from the late mediævalist masters of Siena to the central movement in early Italian painting—that of the Florentine Proto-Renaissance in Cimabue and Giotto.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Madonna*, Opera del Duomo, Siena.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Assumption*, formerly in Yerkes Coll., Chicago. The collection is now dispersed. The catalogue gives a reproduction.

<sup>3</sup> For a remarkable description and appreciation see *A Painter of the Franciscan Legend*, by Bernhard Berenson (Dent & Sons, 1910).

<sup>4</sup> Altarpiece for Ch. of S. Francesco (Borgo S. Sepolcro), contract 1437. see Borghesi e Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese*, p. 142.



# FLORENCE TO 1400

## I

### CIMABUE<sup>1</sup>

c. 1240-c. 1301

WHILE, as we have seen, the traditional school in Siena held to a mediæval habit into the 15th century, Cimabue presaged at the end of the mediæval period the different course of Florentine development.

The renewal of the Roman school as illustrated in Cavallini was brilliant, but both it and Sienese art lacked the essential factor of a radical appeal to nature. This factor had its first conscious expression in the Florentine republic, under the emotional influence of the Franciscan revival. With the secure establishment in Dante of Italian as a literary language, there was an end to the dominance of Latin. With the Pisan Sculptors, and with Cimabue and Giotto (about 1300), visual art may be said to have begun to speak in the vernacular. While the exact watershed between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance may be hard to place, there is no real difficulty in determining in which direction the main streams of art now flow.

Up to the latter half of the 13th century the Florentine school showed no superiority over other indigenous local schools. All alike are inferior in craftsmanship to the Roman school, and lack its traditional basis of large and gracious feeling. They even drop below the dignity and technical skill of the inert Byzantine tradition. Suddenly, at about the time of the advent of Cavallini, a new and personal force appeared in Tuscany. This showed

<sup>1</sup> Consult Aubert and Fry. The earliest sources for Cimabue are Dante, *Purg.*, canto xi. 1, 93; the Commentary to Dante quoted by Vasari; Filippo Villani, Christoforo Landini, Ghiberti, *Commentario*; *Albertini's Memorials*, containing the first list of Cimabue's works; the *Book of Antonio Billi*; and Vasari. His name was Cenni di Pepo (of the Pepo family); see documents published by Fontana, *Due Documenti riguardanti Cimabue* (Pisa, 1878). For possible relation to mosaics, Baptistery, Florence, see p. 7, n. 3. See M. Wackernagel, *Th.-B. Lex.*

itself at Assisi in a series of remarkable wall-paintings in the lately completed Church of S. Francis,<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere in a few scattered works evidently by the same hand. These works have been traditionally attributed, since the early 16th century at least, to Cimabue—a painter concerning whom there is some definite information and many legends. There was indeed a background for these works, as has been seen in a certain Tuscan quality of realism and action, which can be discerned in stray examples before Cimabue. There are indications of ferment in archaic frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi and in various crucifixes already referred to.<sup>2</sup> But this does not detract from the peculiarly inspired character of Cimabue.

Modern criticism accepts the artist Cimabue as an historical personage. Some cautious critics, however, question his authorship of these works. The two points are involved, and we here assume the traditional identification as the most probable hypothesis. The established facts for Cimabue are few.<sup>3</sup> There is sufficient evidence that he worked in Rome in 1272,<sup>4</sup> and in Pisa in 1301,<sup>5</sup> and there is a strong tradition that somewhere between 1272 and before 1300<sup>6</sup> he was painting in Assisi. There is the contemporary evidence of Dante, that he was a leader in painting, and there is no reason to doubt that he at least influenced the young Giotto, who was reaching maturity at the time of Cimabue's death in 1301 or 1302. But the importance of his life to us is in the character of his generally attributed works. If these are not his, they are still of first importance in themselves as embodying a tremendous force in an entirely fresh spirit, and the presumption is in favour of his authorship.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Vasari's life of Cimabue only suggestive for general outlines. It is based on early sources. Some details must be rejected, as Cimabue's name and date of death. Some attributions must be rejected, as the *S. Cecilia Altarpiece*, Uffizi; the works in the nave of the Lower Ch., Assisi, and those in the nave of the Upper Ch.; the *Rucellai Madonna*. Vasari omits mention of the authentic Pisan *Mosaic*.

<sup>4</sup> Notary's document stating Cimabue's presence in Rome in 1272, discovered and published by Stryzgowky, *Cimabue und Rom*.

<sup>5</sup> Doc. evidence for date of Pisan *Mosaic* pub. by Ciampi, *Notizie della Sagrestia pistoiese de Belli Arredi*, cited by Vent., V, 239, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> No early authorities. First mention in the book of Antonio Billi. Vasari's statement must reflect an earlier tradition, yet the chief reason for believing him is the internal evidence.

Cimabue accepts the Tuscan conventions. In spirit he is provincial and Italian rather than Byzantine. He is archaic. His heads are over-large, his drawing conventional, his grouping huddled. He does not show the trained ease of Cavallini nor the delightful refinement of Duccio, and he is often stern and homely. But his works are personal utterances of deep passion, containing direct intuition of nature. The first impression is of a vivid, though barbaric energy, working like fire through the old Italo-Byzantine formulas.

The clue to Cimabue's style depends upon a single unrestored head, that of the Evangelist, in the generally made-over *Apse-Mosaic* of the Cathedral at Pisa. This resembles other heads in Cimabue's attributed works at Assisi and elsewhere. But it is the work in the Church of S. Francis at Assisi from which we gather the clearest idea of the master's power. The church was begun in 1228, two years after S. Francis' death, and was rapidly pressed to completion. The interior began at once to be profusely decorated by the best talent within reach, the crypt-like lower portion first.<sup>1</sup> And in the most important parts of the building, the apse and transepts of the Upper Church, with the cross-vaulting, appears the monumental series of frescoes ascribed to Cimabue, which, though mere wrecks, far surpass in conception and form any earlier works of the kind in Europe. The large fresco of the *Crucifixion* on the wall of the S. transept especially shows the artist's range. The design and most of the details are there in outline, with the underpainting. Incomplete as it is, we feel the naked thought, a personal expression of inexhaustible sublimity. In conception it is passionately loyal to the Franciscan ideal of mystical devotion. In form it exhibits a vital reconstruction of many earlier motives and a direct appeal to life.<sup>2</sup> In two compact groups, stretching out on each side of the drooping Figure on the Cross, are massed the surrounding crowds, the centurion and spectators on the right, the disciples on the left. There is the sense of releasing movement, of skies rent, of a central event in time and in space. And for details, among others, the figure of S. Francis throwing himself down at the foot of the Cross, the firmly planted soldier on the right grasping his shield, the nobly conceived figure of the centurion, the gesture of the Magdalen, and the stormy flight of angels.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Crucifixion* of the N. transept.

That it is now ruined, that it was always archaic, in no wise destroys the picture's supreme spiritual power. To deny Cimabue's authorship of this *Crucifixion* for the lack of documents<sup>1</sup> substitutes an hypothesis of greater difficulty. If it is not by Cimabue, we must invent in his place a great unknown master, a precursor of the Renaissance, the first great genius in Italian painting. There is no positive disproof of the traditional ascription to Cimabue, and the style is entirely in his favour.

The other frescoes of the series, including the *Crucifixion of S. Peter*, which Giotto copied,<sup>2</sup> contain thrilling passages. Owing, however, to the blackened and ruined surfaces, they tell little. The gentle *Madonna Fresco* of the Lower Church, in the unrepainted portions,<sup>3</sup> shows delicacy and finish united to robust forms, and the ascetic S. Francis is remarkable in character.

Cimabue's *Madonna* panels are more mediæval in form than the frescoes, and are less fine and bold in execution. Yet a tendency toward naturalism is here also. The picture in the Belle Arti, Florence, is perhaps the earliest of these. The composition is stiffly precise, but the *Madonna* uplifted on her throne against the gold background is imagined as if drawn up into the heavens.

From these examples, the acclaim with which Cimabue's art was received in his own time is easily understood. Not only as the master of the revolutionary Giotto, but in his own right, Cimabue must be hailed as a pioneer of the Renaissance. And in a certain passionate and personal conviction, Cimabue surpasses even Giotto.

Discussion has been warm over the attribution of the famous old *Madonna* in the chapel of the Rucellai family, in S. M. Novella, Florence.<sup>4</sup> Vasari gives an account of a celebrated *Madonna* executed by Cimabue for this chapel. The picture now there has been in the church from earliest times, and until recently has

<sup>1</sup> See Douglas, C. & C., I, 186 n., who also cites Wickhoff and J. P. Richter. See also Reinach.

<sup>2</sup> Stefaneschi altarpiece, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> On the angels, and S. Francis, and on the draperies. The heads of Virgin and Child are repainted.

<sup>4</sup> See under Duccio, p. 19, n. 3. Perkins, *Giotto*, first gave it to unknown contemporary of Duccio. See also B. B., Suida, de Nicola, &c. See Douglas, C. & C. Douglas denies Cimabue's artistic existence. Fry, *Monthly Rev.*, I, Dec., 147 n., and Chioppelli do not abandon Cimabue's authorship.

been ascribed to Cimabue without question. But at present most critics give it to Duccio or his school. There is documentary evidence of Duccio's employment in the church,<sup>1</sup> which confirms the arguments from style. The picture is more winning and has less force than Cimabue. The fine line in the Madonna, and especially in the angels, is characteristic of Siena. For Cimabue's authorship may be said that this picture is based on a primitive design similar to Cimabue's; that the quality of drawing is more robust and rather more provincial than in Duccio's most careful works; and that the colour and execution are broader. The dramatic saints on the frame forecast Giotto's bold homeliness; the angels at the sides of the throne kneel in the air as actual bodies kneel; the Child, though out of drawing, is solid. Yet it seems more likely that the picture should be Siennese, under Cimabue's influence, than that Cimabue should have learned its delicacy of sentiment and design from Siena.

## II

SCHOOL OF CIMABUE.—Other and unknown artists of considerable talent, outside the Roman school, were active in Cimabue's day. Among these is the unknown master of the St. Michael Chapel *Frescoes* in S. Croce, Florence, which clearly belong to Cimabue's school, where S. Michael fighting with the Dragon, and the scene with S. Galgano, illustrate Cimabue's unity of pattern.<sup>2</sup> See also works by the same painter in the Chapel of the Sacristy, Church of the Carmine, Florence, ruined but still visible in outlines. These are all interesting in form, drawing, execution, and colour, as showing Cimabue's tendencies exhibited in a more popular and descriptive follower. They present a rather narrow phase of the Florentine dramatic genius, yet the artist appears as an independent inventor with a naturalistic tendency more revolutionary and native than in anything else of the time, and nearer to Cimabue than to any others of the pre-Giotteschi.

Many frescoes of Cimabue's time must have been destroyed

<sup>1</sup> Pub. by P. Fineschi, historian of the church, 1790; cited by Richter, *Lectures on the National Gallery*.

<sup>2</sup> As seen in the Assisi *Crucifixion*. Vent., V, 217 ff., attributes the S. Michele Chapel *Frescoes* to Cimabue.

Fig. 13.



CIMABUE.

MADONNA WITH S. FRANCIS.  
Page 43.

Lower Church, Assisi.

Fig. 14.



CIMABUE.

CRUCIFIXION.  
Page 42.

S. Transept, Upper Church, Assisi.

Fig. 15.



*Gabriele Carloforti.*  
No. XII. ANGELS APPEARING TO ABRAHAM.

Page 14.

ROMAN SCHOOL

Fig. 16.



*Urog.*

MADONNA.  
Page 43.

CIMAUFUR.

Belle Arti, Florence.

or lie beneath whitewash or later paintings, partly on account of Giotto's vogue and partly through the replacing of older frescoes in the enthusiasm of the early Renaissance.

## III

GIOTTO<sup>1</sup>

1276-1336

GIOTTO followed quickly upon the awakening fostered by Cimabue, and his forms entirely dominated the artistic output of his school for a century following.

As with Cimabue, Giotto's life must be read mainly in his works. There is no certain knowledge of his early years, nor of his traditional pupilship under Cimabue. In 1208 he seems to have been employed at Rome on the mosaic of the *Navicella*, and he was probably at Rome in 1300, the year of the Jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII. A contemporary chronicler<sup>2</sup> refers to him as having worked in the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi before 1312, and there is good evidence for his presence in Padua when Dante visited the city in 1306 and for his entertaining the poet at his house. There are indications of his working at Rimini at about this time, although only works of his school now suggest his presence there. After this for about twenty years we lose the thread of his life.<sup>3</sup> But in 1327 we

<sup>1</sup> See Frey, Wickhoff, Thode, B. B., Vent., Siren. Vasari's life is inaccurate. Giotto Bordone, b. Colle, village of the Florentine Commune, 1276. Vasari's date is 1276. An earlier date is indicated by Ant. Pucci in his *Centiloquio* (in *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, VI, 119). Cf. Vas., I, 370 n. See p. 52, n. 1. Son of Francesco Bordone (probably a well-to-do landed proprietor), of Vespignano, Valley of the Mugello. For Giotto's name, birthplace, early education, etc., see C. & C., II, 28-9 notes, and Perkins, *Giotto*, p. 23 and n., citing MSS. notes in *Bib. Nas. Flor.*, which quotes doc. of 1320. B. B.'s modified views are stated in *Rass. d'A.*, VIII, 45, and in recent eds. *Flor. Painters*. See also Zimmermann. Vent. gives full bibliography; F. M. Perkins' modified views, displacing those held in his *Giotto*, are about to appear in his announced edition of Vasari. Other authors are mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> In Muratori, *S. S. rerum Italicarum*, IX, 255; confirmed by Ghiberti, who also mentions Giotto's works at Padua and Rimini. (Those at Rimini lost.) Also Benvenuto da Imola mentions Dante's entertainment by Giotto, see Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. med. œv.* (Milan, 1738), I, Coll. 1185 seq. Other authorities for date of Paduan frescoes cited by C. & C., II, 60, n. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> A doc. cit. by Mil. (Vas., I, 394, n. 4) and Vent., V, 407, indicates his absence from Florence in 1312. A doc., C. & C., Ital. ed., I, 506, n. 2, ref. in Vent., V, 416, indicates his absence from Florence in 1318. Vasari asserts that



find him at Florence, probably at work in S. Croce. And in 1330 he was the honoured guest of King Robert at Naples, and entrusted with important commissions now unfortunately destroyed or whitewashed. In 1334, on his return to Florence, he was appointed chief superintendent of the vast cathedral, left unfinished by Arnolfo, and his crowning achievement, unfinished at his death (in 1336), is seen in the famous Campanile of Florence, of which he was both architect and sculptor. How far the master's activities as architect extended we do not know, but the design of the Campanile (Giotto's Tower) is certainly his, although his death left the execution largely to others.

We may distinguish three periods in his development. The first—falling almost certainly within the 13th century, and showing dependence upon an earlier style—is typically represented by the S. Francis Series in the Upper Church at Assisi. The second is of early maturity—the Series of Scenes from the Life of the Virgin and of Christ which forms the decoration of the Arena Chapel at Padua. This is the most perfectly preserved of his works and the most eager and ambitious. Finally the works of his later years in the Church of S. Croce in Florence, in which his thought and style reach their highest point of serene power and beauty. Beside these, a few scattered panel pictures are given to the master mainly on internal evidence, and their chronology is hypothetical.

The traditional view is that Giotto owed his training to the tendencies already formed of the Florentine School, especially to Cimabue; but some critics believe that much of his pre-eminence was due to the influence of Roman masters, probably at Assisi, or even to his possible training in the Roman school. Nothing is more likely than that Giotto should have picked up his mere craft from Rome—the recognised conservator of a sound tradition—and from whom matters little. Nothing is more unlikely than that the spiritual influence of Cimabue left no impression on him, whether he actually worked under him or not. In form Giotto was inspired by the Roman tradition and he discarded Cimabue's outworn design; but the really new impetus resided in a movement greater than the ecclesiastical ideals of

he travelled and worked in Verona, Ferrara, Ravenna, Urbino, Arezzo, Gaeta, Naples (an earlier visit than the authenticated one of his later years (1336)), Rimini, Milan, Lucca, Pisa, even Avignon. But Vasari is untrustworthy unless confirmed.

Roman patrons—that is, in the humanism which was shown, among other things, in the growth of the Franciscan religious movement. Arnolfo, the great contemporary Florentine architect, may have contributed something in architectural accessories, and an influence has been suggested from the sculptor Giovanni Pisano, Nicola's son.<sup>1</sup>

Giotto reorganised the Florentine school by modification of existing traditions. His art is a logical development of the dramatic and realistic tendencies of Tuscan provincial art, or which Cimabue was the culmination. Yet his temperament is classic, and this is shown not so much by classic motives as by the repose and dignity of his outlook on life. So evenly balanced, indeed, are his qualities that in the end we come to see how his greatness lies in poise, proportion, and judgment.

UPPER CHURCH AT ASSISI.—The three great cycles of Giotto's works begin with the series in the Upper Church of S. Francis at Assisi. A chronicler writing before 1312 speaks of Giotto as having worked in the church. This is confirmed by Ghiberti in his Commentaries of a hundred years later. According to Vasari, he was called there by Fra Giovanni di Muro, who was made captain of the Franciscan Order in 1296.<sup>2</sup>

Starting with the assumption that Giotto worked at Assisi, the question still remains as to his share in the frescoes of both the Lower and Upper Church. The frescoes that can by any possibility be assigned to him are the series of the *Life of S. Francis* in the nave of the Upper Church, and in the Lower Church the ceiling of the crossing of nave and transept, the walls of the north transept, and the walls of the adjoining chapel of S. M. Magdalen. In regard to all these works, modern criticism tends to be sceptical as to Giotto's actual painting. To Cavalcaselle it seemed impossible that the archaisms of style in the earlier portions of the S. Francis cycle could belong to a man who reorganised from top to bottom the whole conception and form of mediæval Italian painting. Venturi, with wider knowledge than Cavalcaselle even, feels the same. These works do not

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni felt French influence in an external way, which has no importance in Giotto's case.

<sup>2</sup> This would place the date of Giotto's work between 1296 and some time previous to 1312. The best opinions agree that the work traditionally ascribed to Giotto in the Upper Church is more archaic than the *Navicella* (p. 60), and must therefore, if by him, be before 1298.

depend on Giotto's authorship; they are very fine as decoration, and they are the first elaborate series of paintings inspired by the S. Francis tradition. We, however, believe a part of the work to be Giotto's, and we give the views which are accepted by very careful authorities.<sup>1</sup>

*The S. Francis Cycle*, twenty-eight scenes in all, covers the lower row of the nave of the Upper Church, below the Old and New Testament scenes executed a little earlier. It is agreed that the style is transitional between Cimabue and the contemporary Roman school on the one hand and the mature Giotto on the other, that there are three artists engaged, and that one of them is Giotto in an archaic stage. The argument for Giotto is in part that these paintings have traits consistent with him, larger traits than are shown by any other men of the time, and such as were developed in unquestioned works of Giotto at a later period. Archaic forms are being worked out into Giottesque forms, as would be natural in the early period of the master. Finally, the works are not proved to be by anyone else.

The view set forth is that :

I. The eighteen scenes, beginning with the second in the series, *S. Francis giving his Mantle to a Poor Man*, and ending with *The Stigmata* (Nos. 2 to 19 inclusive), are by Giotto at an early stage of his career. They are severer and bolder than the others, simpler in design, with lucid and vigorous patterns. His scholars are more descriptive and detailed. Yet even in this group, certain scenes seem more discursive and mannered than others, and therefore have been questioned as Giotto's, at least in execution.<sup>2</sup>

II. The last four, representing miracles after S. Francis' death (Nos. 25 to 28 inclusive), beginning with the *Dream of Gregory IX at Perugia* and ending with *Pietro of Alesia Freed from Prison*, and the first picture of the series, *S. Francis Honoured by a Citizen of Assisi* (No. 1), are Giottesque, but not by Giotto. They are more archaic, reflecting the forms of art before Giotto as well as

<sup>1</sup> See p. 45, n. 1, for list of authorities. See also Bibliography. Cavalcaselle's knowledge of the art of the Proto-Renaissance was thorough as far as his times permitted.

<sup>2</sup> Faces and flesh seem much restored. Ugly brick-red flesh-tone (due to restoration) in some, as Nos. 11, 12, 13, like the *Church Fathers* on ceiling. Architecture and backgrounds generally intact; draperies in the latter part of group unrepainted. Venturi gives No. 16 to Giotto as characteristic. For mention of frescoes of doubtful attribution see Appendix A, p. 54.

Fig. 17.



No. I. S. FRANCIS HONOURED BY CITIZEN OF ASSISI.

*Alinari.*

Page 48.

GIOTTESQUE.

Upper Church at Assisi.



NO. XV. S. FRANCIS PREACHING TO THE BIRDS.

*Alinari.*

Page 50.

GIOTTO.

Upper Church, Assisi.

Giottesque forms; perhaps they are more Roman. The style belongs to a certain limited period just before Giotto's influence dominated all his contemporaries in Florence and seemingly in Rome. Roman and Byzantine types linger, yet there is a genre feeling and portrait quality, long figures, dainty composition, careful detail, and peculiar colour. They may well be, on internal evidence, the work of the famous master of the S. Cecilia Altarpiece, perhaps an older Roman-trained assistant of Cimabue. It is generally agreed that these five works, including No. 1, cannot be much later than the others, and their practically unrepainted condition helps us to see the condition of the rest.

III. The third hand is seen in the five scenes closing S. Francis' life (Nos. 20 to 24 inclusive), beginning with *The Death, etc., of the Saint*, and ending with *The Canonisation* (in great part destroyed). These are distinctly Giottesque, but more naturalistic and less simple and monumental than Giotto, with elaborate draperies, long proportions, and fine portrait sense. It is possible that this unknown artist may have worked on some of the earlier compositions, executing Giotto's ideas.<sup>1</sup>

The margins of these groups may not be precise. The Giottesque *Death of S. Francis* almost merges into the master of the last four of the series, and some pictures towards the end of the Giotto group are inferior. The indication in these last is of another hand working on Giotto's designs—either a fourth subordinate assistant or else the third artist (of group III.) when not yet free to work out his own designs.

The problem is not solved. A reasonable explanation would assume Giotto's chief direction of the series, and his execution of its most original pictures, quite likely when he was young enough to be restrained by Roman conventions. We may even assume that as Cimabue had been the chief master working at Assisi, so Cimabue's best assistant would be the logical choice among other followers to continue the work. And it is not improbable that before the cycle was finished, Giotto's growing reputation called him to Rome, where he seems certainly to have been in 1298 and again in 1300. But all this must be conjectural.

Assuming our classification to be correct, certain qualities of Giotto's early style are distinguished which separate him from his

<sup>1</sup> Groups II and III practically unrepainted. Venturi sees Giotto in group III. No other authority, expert on internal evidence, does so.

age. *S. Francis and the poor Young Man* (No. 2) is peculiarly characteristic of Giotto in its lucidity, its elemental feeling, and its amazing naturalism—the horse cropping grass, the effect of wind in the foliage. The landscape is evidently inspired by the customary Byzantine paintings. Yet the relation of the background as essential to the design is significant. The olive trees, for instance, are Byzantine in outline, but their arrangement upon the hillside shows a new unity presaging the backgrounds at Padua. To think of Gaddo Gaddi or Rusuti as capable of a masterpiece of this sort seems impossible.<sup>1</sup> The master of this work is a pioneer of a new vision.

*The Ordeal by Fire* (No. 11)<sup>2</sup> lacks unity, but the growing draughtsmanship, as in the weight and dignity of the Sultan, is beyond any Roman work. In *The Miracle of the Spring* (No. 14) we see again the simplicity, the naturalistic suggestion of a conventional landscape, the interwoven design of landscape and figures, and the sense of weight, which indeed is more emphatic than in others of the series. *S. Francis preaching to the Birds* (No. 15) is one of the greatest, with its exceptional landscape, the freedom of treatment of the birds, and the big oak—decorative, yet closely observed and boldly drawn—nearly (not quite) in the style of the Paduan frescoes. Taken in connection with Giotto's copying this design in his predella to *S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Louvre), this oak is almost a signature.

We refer to *The Expulsion of the Demons from Arezzo* (No. 10) because the crowded architectural composition and descriptive tone at first seem out of keeping with Giotto's manner, but even here the architecture is natural rather than abstract. The architecture in all this part of the cycle is more archaic, heavier, and less refined in details than in works of a little later date.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the series there are indications of experiment as shown in the variation in scale<sup>4</sup> and intervals in similar figure-groups—for example, in *S. Francis* and his constant attendant. Archaisms appear at times in the more sacred figures, as would be natural in an early stage of a painter of Giotto's conservative

<sup>1</sup> Zimmermann's theory of Giotto's hand in earlier work at Assisi than in the *S. Francis* cycle (as in the *Pietà* and *Ascension*) may be true.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated by Giotto in *S. Croce*, Florence, in an improved arrangement.

<sup>3</sup> In general Gothic architectural forms appear in Giottoesque work rather than in work by Giotto himself.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M. Angelo* in the Sistine ceiling.

temperament. But at times the principal figures are quite free. In details he is generally more archaic than Cavallini; in essentials he is not so.

LOWER CHURCH AT ASSISI.—The discussion is equally keen about the Lower Church.<sup>1</sup> The ornamental painting of every portion of the vast, low ceiling and walls, somewhat darkened, but in good preservation, leaves an impression on the eye hardly paralleled in art. Italian mural painting here reaches the same richness as the finest mosaics or mediæval window-glass. The four *Vows* at the crossing over the High Altar have been given to Giotto until recently without question. But neither execution nor treatment seem quite like Giotto. This does not decrease their importance. Decorative in composition, glowing with colour, the allegories, though partly overladen with symbols, are treated with fine literary and artistic imagination. For example, the allegory of the *Lady Poverty*, who is conceived as a stern, ascetic figure, with her patched raiment and thorny ground, is of great beauty in the general play of line and texture and subtlety of colour.

Close at hand, in the N. transept, are other curious and attractive Giottesque works, descriptive scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* with charming setting, and scarcely less interesting, though of a different quality, the *S. Francis Frescoes*, hardly by Giotto or even on his design.<sup>2</sup> In the Chapel of S. Niccolo of Bari at the end of the transept, another pupil tells his stories, with a narrower aim, but with frank and easy narrative and quaint conceits of setting, fine illustrations of Giotto's dramatic influence on one who works on a lower emotional tone. Opening from the east side of the north transept is the Chapel of the Magdalen, where the Giottesque frescoes (on the lines of Giotto's Paduan pictures) are extremely beautiful, both in sentiment and colour. According to some,<sup>3</sup> these indicate Giotto's design and partial execution. But lovely though they are, these frescoes appear to lack Giotto's larger vision. Here rather seems to be a fine secondary master who freely reproduces Giotto's Paduan compositions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Differing views may be found in Venturi and Siren, *Giotto*.

<sup>2</sup> Ascribed by Vasari to Giottino. Date disputed.

<sup>3</sup> As B. B., Perkins, Thode, Venturi.

<sup>4</sup> For this view see C. & C., II, 147-8. Date indicated by donor represented kneeling before S. Rufino, and again before S. Mary Magdalen. He seems to be Bishop Tebaldo Pontano di Todi (d. 1329, Vent., V, 438-9). This would place the frescoes if by Giotto before 1328, when Giotto went to Naples.



In these works of the Lower Church we gain an aspect of Giotto now partly lost. His invention, or at least his inspiration, may be seen here. They are among the most beautiful mural paintings in Italy.

PADUA.—We now come to works that are Giotto's without question. The little Scrovegni or Arena Chapel in Padua is a free-standing building consisting of a single nave, whose walls within are entirely covered with frescoes executed by Giotto in the prime of life.<sup>1</sup> Above the chancel arch seen from the entrance is *Christ Enthroned*. On the opposite end, over the entrance, is the *Last Judgment*. The scenes surround the walls in three tiers, beginning above with the *Life of the Virgin*, which merges in the middle row into the *Life of Christ*, and this again into the scenes from the Passion in the lowest tier. Here the feeling deepens from the *Buying of Judas* through the *Betrayal and Crucifixion*, and finally ends with the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*. Below all, in monochrome, are the single allegorical figures of the *Virtues and Vices*, seven on a side, each virtue opposite its opposing vice.

Nowhere does Giotto's invention appear so marvellous as here, but the frescoes are more rapidly and slightly executed, and probably more rapidly designed than the earlier works of the S. Francis cycle, or the later works at Florence. Thus, while the spontaneity gives them a certain nervous force and especial charm, they are not as a whole so complex and rich as other works. Throughout they are of a lovely, soft, warm colour, not as brilliant as in the Lower Church at Assisi, but very completely beautiful—the blue backgrounds giving a sky effect of light, and the ornamental framing adding to the decorative effect. The compositions involve flexible modifications to suit the thought, as against the mediæval tendency to repeat subject and fixed design. The master makes experiments in tone and light and shade, in perspective and in plastic treatment of landscape, as in *Joachim's Vision*. This is the most remarkable landscape passage in the series. The spirit of the cold mountain scenery appears almost modern. *The Expulsion of the Childless Joachim from the Temple* is entirely expressive of the humiliation, homely and

<sup>1</sup> Date determined by Dante's visit to Padua, 1306. He was then quite young, as we know from Benvenuto da Imola, *see* C. & C. (Douglas), II, 30, n. 1. This tends to justify Vasari's birth date as against Pucci (*see* p. 45, n. 1).

Fig. 19.



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.  
Page 51.

*Alinari.*

GIOTTESQUE,

Lower Church, Assisi.

Fig. 20.



RAISING OF LAZARUS,  
Page 51.

*Alinari.*

GIOTTESQUE.

Chapel of S. M. Magdalen, Lower Church, Assisi.

Fig. 31.



THE CRUCIFIXION,

Page 52.

Giotto.

Padua.

Fig. 22.



INTERIOR OF ARENA CHAPEL, PADUA.

Page 42.

Giotto.

natural. Every motive might occur in mediæval art, but never with such force and appropriate setting. The same rightness and measure appear in the scenes with landscape background, as the *Flight into Egypt*. If the archaic background were removed, the picture would become almost modern. Yet for the charm of the ensemble we need the two generalised hills with their formal trees—too small for the figures, indeed, but helping to bring them together, and by their free arrangement suggesting the natural appearance. In the *Visitation* (a perfect example among many fine ones) a group of five unidealised women and a little porch in the background comprise all the elements. The dignified and sensitive greeting of Mary and Elizabeth expresses the meaning of the story. The emotional tone is given by a scheme unadorned, compact, but subtly arranged. In such work a universal standard of beauty is achieved. As the series goes on, Giotto balks at no novel or untried problem in design. He boldly solves all by an appeal to natural probabilities. The details might be bettered by a clever scholar, but the ensemble never fails. How simply and richly the real meaning of the *Adoration of the Magi* is conveyed. We find even touches of comedy and of genre side by side with the heroic—the fat guest at the *Marriage of Cana*, the boys climbing into trees in the *Entry into Jerusalem*, the barking dog in the *Retreat of Joachim to the Sheep-folds*. It is invidious to choose, but the master rises with his subject, and the series culminates surely in the passion of Christ, as in the stupendous scene of the *Betrayal*, or in the *Raising of Lazarus*, with its motives that are of universal interpretation.

The only failure seems to be the *Inferno*, on the entrance wall. Was the mediæval convention too strong for Giotto to break? Or was the subject too foreign to his temperament? Yet even here there is an originality in this river of molten fire and the cataract of plunging bodies.

In the *Virtues* and *Vices* Giotto is very near his best. Racy proverbs, without favour and without mercy, incisive like the satire of Dante.

FLORENCE.—We turn now to the latest existing painting, and the most masterly—the wonderful frescoes in S. Croce.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ghiberti (Comm.) mentions paintings of the chapels in S. Croce now lost. Date of Bardi Chapel frescoes not documented; from style well after the Paduan series. Peruzzi Chapel still later.

Here the growing comprehension of a lifetime has borne fruit. They are less startlingly inventive than the Paduan series, but all the more monumental and gracious, and where not retouched, most beautiful in colour. We need hardly designate in detail; the *Stigmata* in the transept above the Bardi Chapel is very lovely, and the *Sultan* picture has passed far beyond the Assisi version in ease and freedom. The *Feast of Herod* shows Giotto's richest colour, the viol player recalls Renaissance Venice, the Salome is extraordinarily tender and noble. In the *Assumption of S. John* the figure ascends with a sweep and nobility comparable to the most dramatic designs of Raphael. All that we have earlier said of Giotto is illustrated here.

It is not too much to say that the seeds of almost every important effort of the Florentines in art are to be found in him.

## APPENDIX A

### CHURCH OF SAINT FRANCIS AT ASSISI

THE Apse, contrary to custom, is at the West End of the Church.

R. (right), and L. (left), are used supposing the spectator to be facing the apse or altar of church or chapel.

Death of S. Francis, 1226. Foundation of church begun 1228; Upper Church begun 1230 (?); Opening of chapels in Lower Church 1252; Completion of Upper Church 1253.

The value of this church as representing a definite development of early Italian painting cannot be over-emphasized. It is the cradle of Italian style, representing the transition between the mediæval and Giotto. Authorships are usually conjectural, and are in no case authenticated. Cimabue is almost certainly there, and Giotto almost as certainly in his earliest known phase. Cavallini may have been there, if so, just before Giotto, possibly as his master.

The important examples may be classed as follows—

1. Primitive fresco fragments in Nave of Lower Church. Period before Cimabue and Giotto.
2. Cimabue frescoes, Choir and Transepts Upper Church.
3. Upper Church: Nave, Upper and Middle tiers, by artists of Roman-Byzantine style with Cimabuesque influence surviving.

4. Upper Church : Nave, Lower tier, S. Francis cycle. Final phase of transition, Giotto and school.
5. Lower Church : Cross-vaulting, N. Transept and adjoining Chapels, Giottesque, a true trecento style.
6. Certain examples of somewhat later painters. The most important are Simone Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti.

### THE LOWER CHURCH

**Entrance, L. Arm of E. Transept, a fresco on W. WALL near corner of nave by Ottaviano Nelli or school.**

**CHAPEL OF S. CATHERINE (del Crocefisso), R. Arm of E. Transept, at end (built 1382 by Cardinal Albornoz), by a North Italian, Andrea da Bologna, late 14th century.**

**CHAPEL OF S. ANTONY THE ABBOT, R. Arm of E. Transept, E. side, Painting by a Follower of Pintoricchio (Gordon's *Assisi*, p. 195).**

**Nave**—Fragments of original decoration, Life of Christ, and Life of S. Francis, nearly obliterated, executed before 1252, in part destroyed in 1252 by addition of side chapels : the only relics of the original mural decorations from 1228–58, based upon the *Italo-Byzantine* style common from about the 9th to the 13th century, and directly precursing Cimabue, by a *Local Umbrian* (Zimmerman), by *Giunta Pisano* (Venturi). The ornament is also interesting and beautiful.

**S. Wall by Chapel of S. Martin**—1. S. Francis renounced by his Father ; 2. Vision of Innocent III ; 3. Preaching to the Birds ; 4. S. Francis receiving the Stigmata ; 5. Death of S. Francis. Over pulpit, Coronation of Virgin : By *Giottino* (Sirén, Thode, C. and C., Schubring, Suida), by *Stefano* (Venturi) ; in ARCH surrounding Coronation, S. Stanislaus Frescoes—1. Miracle of S. Stanislaus ; 2. Martyrdom of S. Stanislaus, by *Giottino* (Sirén, Schubring, Thode), not by *Giottino* (C. & C.). Below Martyrdom of S. Stanislaus, Crucifixion with Virgin and S. John (C. & C. class it with Coronation, Thode thinks it inferior to Coronation and the S. Stanislaus series).

**N. Wall (opposite Chapel of S. Martin)**—1. Group about Cross ; 2. Group of Women ; 3. Descent from the Cross ; 4. Pietà ; 5. Landscape with Houses ; 6. Decoration of circular ornament.

**Chapels of Nave, S. Side, beginning at E. end.**

**Chapel of S. Martin : All frescoes by Simone Martini.** E. WALL, below L.—1. S. Martin gives cloak to Beggar ; R. 2. Christ appears to S. Martin. W. WALL, below, R.—3. S. Martin knighted ; L. 4. Renouncing military Life. E. WALL, 2nd row, R.—5. S. Martin as Bishop of Tours ; L. 6. Restoring Child to Life ; above, 7. Death of S. Hilary of

Poitiers. W. WALL, 2nd row, R.—8. S. Martin at Mass; L. 9. S. Martin and Emperor Valentinian; above, 10. Death. ENTRANCE ARCH, W., above, SS. Francis and Antony of Padua; below, SS. Catherine and M. Magdalen; E. above, S. Louis of France and S. Louis of Toulouse; below, S. Clare and S. Elizabeth of Hungary. LUNETTE over Entrance, Cardinal Gentile kneeling before S. Martin.

Chapels of Nave, N. Side, beginning at E. end—1. CHAPEL OF S. STEFANO (opposite Chapel of S. Martin); 2. CHAPEL OF S. ANTONY OF PADUA, frescoes destroyed; 3. CHAPEL OF S. M. MAGDALEN (opening on one side into N. Transept, see later).

Crossing, Vows: By an independent *Giottesque Master* or Masters, perhaps after Giotto's general design. (Sirén thinks Giotto had direction of the design.)

N. Transept, E. Wall, R.—1. Companions of S. Francis: By P. Lorenzetti (Perkins), Memmi (Bode); L. 2. Saint; 3. Madonna and Child; 4. S. Louis of France: All *School of Simone Martini*. Above, E. VAULTING, Four scenes from the Life of Christ, UPPER TIER, L.—1. Visitation by Elizabeth; R. 2. Nativity; MIDDLE TIER, L. 3. Adoration; R. 4. Presentation in the Temple: All *School of Giotto*. LOWEST TIER, R. Madonna: by Cimabue; L. Crucifixion: *School of Giotto* ("by an artist of decided and marked personality," Fry).

N. Transept, W. Wall, W. VAULTING—UPPER TIER, R. 1. Flight into Egypt; L. 2. Massacre of Innocents; MIDDLE TIER, R. 3. Return of Holy Family; L. 4. Christ in the Temple: All *School of Giotto*; LOWEST TIER, over stairway, R. 1. S. Francis and Skeleton of Death; 2. MEDALLION in Lunette of Window, Head of Christ; L. 3. Spini Child: All *School of Giotto*.

N. Transept, N. Wall (broken by door), UPPER TIER, Annunciation; L. 1. Angel; R. 2. Virgin; MIDDLE TIER, L. 3. Death of Child; R. 4. Resurrection of Child: All *School of Giotto*; LOWEST TIER, R. 1. S. Francis; 2. S. Louis of Toulouse; 3. S. Elizabeth of Hungary; R., S. Chiara: All by *Simone Martini*; 5. S. Antony of Padua: *School of Simone Martini*.

Chapel of S. Nicholas of Bari (Orsini Chapel, Capella del Sacramento)—N. end of N. Transept. ENTRANCE ARCH, SOFFIT W. (L.) side, 1. S. Antony of Padua; 2. SS. Francis, Albino, and George; 3. SS. Agnes and Cecilia; E. (R.) Side, 1. SS. Chiara and Catherine of Alexandria; 2. SS. Sabina and Vittorino; 3. SS. Rufino and Nicholas. BARREL VAULT, inside of entrance, E. (R.) WALL (beginning at bottom), 1. Two SS.; 2. S. Nicholas hearing a Father's Appeal; 3. Obliterated; 4. S. Nicholas and the three Maidens; W. (L.) WALL (beginning at bottom); 1. Two young SS.; 2. Vision of Constantine; 3. Obliterated; 4. S. Nicholas saves the three Sons. WALL and VAULTING to-

## CHURCH OF S. FRANCIS AT ASSISI 57

ward window end, E. (R.) SIDE (beginning at bottom), 1. S. Peter and two other SS.; 2. S. Nicholas restores a boy to his Parents; 3. S. Nicholas rescues a Slave Boy; 4. S. Nicholas restores a Child to Life. W. (L.) SIDE (beginning at bottom), 1, 2, 3, Obliterated; 4. An irate Jew beats Statue of S. Nicholas. ENTRANCE (S.) WALL, R. 1. below; SS. with Books; 2. S. John Baptist; 3. S. Nicholas presents G. Gaetano to Christ (above); L. 1. below, SS. with Books; 2. S. M. Magdalen; 3. S. Francis presents Cardinal Napoleon Orsini to Christ (above); above door, Christ. All these frescoes are of narrow but lovely quality, containing the early Giottesque style of the S. Francis cycle, Upper Church, perhaps by the same hand as Nos. 20-22 of the St. Francis cycle. (Venturi gives these to "a Co-worker of Giotto"; Sirén to *Stefano*; C. & C. to *Giottino*). Panel Picture over Altar, Virgin with S. Francis (R.), S. Nicholas (L.): By a *Sieneſe Maſter*.

Chapel of S. M. Magdalen, S. SIDE, opening from E. side of N. (R.) Transept—1. LUNETTE over door into Nave, M. Magdalen in her Cave; W. SIDE, 2. LUNETTE above, Communion of the Magdalen; MIDDLE TIER, L. 3. Anointing Christ's Feet; R. 4. Raising of Lazarus; LOWER TIER; L. 5. Female Saint; R. (of door) 6. Bishop Pontormo kneeling at feet of S. Rufino; E. SIDE, 7. LUNETTE above, Magdalen carried to Heaven by Angels; MIDDLE TIER, L. 8. Noli me Tangere; R. 9. Miracle of the Prince of Marseilles; LOWER TIER, L. 10. Bishop Pontormo at feet of Magdalen; R. 11. Half-figure of Angel with a Globe. N. (Window) WALL, L. 1. Two Female Figures; R. 2. S. Helena and SS.: Whole Chapel by a *Giotto Follower*.

S. (L.) Transept—Scenes from Passion, and Madonna and SS. (*see pp. 28-9*), by *Pietro Lorenzetti*.

Chapel of S. John Baptist, at end of S. Transept or Apse—Triptych over Altar, by *Pietro Lorenzetti* (C. & C., B. B., Thode); Painting by *Lo Spagna* (C. & C.).

Sacristies—Portrait of S. Francis (over door leading to inner Sacristy): Has been attributed to *Giunta Pisano*. (By a *Byzantine*, not by *Giunta*, Vent., V., p. 84.)

### UPPER CHURCH

*Titles in quotation marks and square brackets are based on documents,  
the frescoes being effaced*

Choir (W. End), Death, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin (4 scenes) with Prophets, Angels, and other decorations, by *Cimabue* (some decorative details probably by assistants).

S. (L.) Transept, E. WALL, below, Crucifixion; above, Angels behind Arcade. S. WALL, 3 Scenes from Apocalypse, above Angels.



W. WALL, below, L. Babylon, R., S. John on Patmos; above, Angels behind Arcade; still above, Half-figures of Angels, S. Michael and Dragons (lunette). All by *Cimabue* except some decorative details.

N. (R.) Transept, E. WALL, Crucifixion; above, Apostles behind Arcade; Transfiguration. N. WALL, below, 1. L. Destroyed; 2. Crucifixion of S. Peter; 3. Simon Magus; above, R. and L. Prophets. W. WALL, below, L. Death of Ananias and Saphira; R., S. Peter Healing; above Apostles behind Arcade, Half-figures of Angels (arcade), Christ enthroned (lunette). The N. Transept is by *Cimabue* in part. By some critics the S. Peter scenes and the Crucifixion are attributed in part to an *Earlier Master* representing the transition between the early Ignoto of the Nave of the Lower Church and Cimabue.

Cross Vaulting—W., S. Matthew, Judea; N., S. John, Asia; E., S. Luke, Greece; S., S. Mark, Italy. All by *Cimabue*.

Nave, N. (R.) Wall—UPPER TIER, Old Testament Series (starting at Transept). 1. Creation of the Earth; II. Creation of Man; III. Creation of Woman; IV. Temptation; V. Expulsion; VI. Obliterated; VII. Cain slays Abel (end of N. Wall); VIII. Obliterated.

MIDDLE TIER, IX. (under 1.) Building of Ark; X. Obliterated; XI. Sacrifice of Isaac; XII. Three Angels visit Abraham; XIII. Esau sells his Birthright; XIV. Esau before Isaac; XV. Joseph in the Pit; XVI. Benjamin's Cup (under VIII).

1. First 8 scenes very fragmentary; *Roman School* with Byzantine influence, un-Cimabuesque. Attributed to *Torriti* by Zimmermann.

2. Nos. IX, X, XI are vigorous in a flat Byzantine-Roman style, less classic than the first 8 scenes except for breadth in drapery. Attributed variously to *School of Cimabue* and to *Cavallini*.

3. No. XII is typically Roman classical, related in style to Nos. I-VIII and to Nos. XIII and XIV. Attributed to *Cimabue* (by Zimmermann) and to *Cavallini*.

4. Nos. XIII and XIV are typically *Roman*, un-Cimabuesque. Considered by critics to show *Cavallini's* authorship or influence.

5. Nos. XV and XVI are modern in feeling, *Roman* in style, seemingly derivative of Nos. XIII and XIV, and perhaps of Nos. I-VIII, a style carried on in No. 1 (N.T. Series), and perhaps in some fragments in Upper tier (N.T. Series). Attributed to *Giotto* by Zimmermann.

Nave, S. (L.) Wall, Upper Tier, New Testament Series (starting at Transept)—*a*, Annunciation; *b* ["Two Heads"]; *c*, Nativity; *d* ["Epiphany"]; *e*, Presentation in the Temple; *f*, Flight into Egypt; *g* ["Christ with the Doctors"]; *h*, The Baptism.

MIDDLE TIER—*i* (under *a*), Marriage of Cana; *l*, Obliterated; *m*, Betrayal; *n*, Obliterated; *o*, Road to Golgotha; *p*, Crucifixion; *q*, Lamentation; *r*, The Maries at the Sepulchre.

The N.T. Series in general is Roman and Byzantine with a refinement

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on Cimabue's style by an unknown *Roman Artist* (Cavallini ?). Giotto emerges somewhere, either within this group or as an immediate follower of one of the group.

1. Nos. *c*, *m* are Roman with Byzantine features, e.g. gold-shot draperies and an occasional Cimabuesque scowl. Related to O.T. Series Nos. 1-VIII, and especially to Nos. IX, X, XI. By a lively composer but loose draughtsman. Cf. Mosaic attrib. to Gaddo Gaddi, Duomo, Florence.

2. No. *o*. Related to Nos. XIII, XIV (O.T. Series). By *Cavallini* ? with possible assistance of the young *Giotto*.

3. No. *p*. By *Cavallini* ? with possible assistance of the young *Giotto*.

**Entrance (E.) Wall—MIDDLE TIER, R. *s***, Ascension. Related to the Cavallini type in O.T. Series (Nos. XIII, XIV), and to the early works of the S. Francis cycle, and perhaps to the Four Church Fathers. Attributed to Giotto by Zimmermann. L. *t*, Descent of the Holy Spirit. **UPPER TIER, MEDALLIONS, L. *u***, S. Peter; R. *v*, S. Paul. Roman school.

**MEDALLIONS OVER DOORS, CENTRE**, Madonna and Child, *Roman School* ? or *Giottesque* ?; L. and R. Half-figures of Angels, Roman school; **ENTRANCE ARCH, SOFFIT**, Figures of SS. in painted niches, unimportant. *Roman School*.

**Vaulting, E. End, 1ST BAY, E.**, S. Jerome; N., S. Ambrose; W., S. Gregory; S. Augustine. By artists working in the Roman tradition. More correct and modern than Cimabue. By *Rusuti* ?, or *Gaddo Gaddi* ? (whose style is classed as Roman). **2ND BAY**, empty; **3RD BAY**, Medallions, E., S. Francis; N., S. John Baptist; W. Christ; S. Virgin; **3rd Bay** by *Torrizi* ?; **4th BAY**, empty.

### Nave, Lowest Tier, S. Francis Cycle

#### ABSTRACT OF ATTRIBUTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE AUTHORS

1. Eighteen scenes (Nos. 2-19 inclusive) by *Giotto* at an early stage of his career, with possible exceptions noted below.

2. Five scenes (No. 1 and last four Nos., 25-28 inclusive), by *A*, an assistant or associate of Giotto.

3. Three scenes (Nos. 20, 21, 22) probably by *B*, a pupil of Giotto.

4. Two scenes (Nos. 23, 24) uncertain. They have been attributed both to *B* and to *A*.

**N. Side**, beginning at Crossing—1. Homage to S. Francis (by a *Contemporary of Giotto*, perhaps a pupil with early training under another master than Giotto, A); 2. S. Francis Gives away his Cloak (naturalism characteristic of Giotto); 3. Vision of S. Francis (archaic motives derived from frescoes of upper rows); 4. S. Francis before the Crucifix

of S. Damiano; 5. S. Francis Renounced by his Father (more discursive than Giotto, perhaps by another artist); 6. Dream of Pope Innocent (archaic motives derived from upper rows); 7. Pope Innocent Sanctions the Rule of the Order; 8. The Fiery Chariot; 9. Vision of Thrones; 10. Expulsion of Demons from Arezzo; 11. S. Francis before the Sultan; 12. Glory of S. Francis (archaic motives derived from upper rows).

13. Christmas Night at Greccio (more discursive than Giotto, perhaps by another artist). End of N. Side.

Nos. 6-12 (inclusive) indicate experiment and increase of skill characteristic of Giotto's development.

E. End (ENTRANCE)—14. (L. of Doorway) Miracle of the Spring; 15. (R. of Doorway) S. Francis' Sermon to Birds. (Nos. 14, 15 are highly characteristic of Giotto. Oak tree and birds are almost a signature.)

S. Side, beginning at Entrance—16. Death of the Knight of Celano; 17. S. Francis before Honorius III; 18. Apparition at Arles; (16, 17, 18 more discursive than Giotto; perhaps not by him.) 19. The Stigmata (by *Giotto?*); 20. Ascension of S. Francis; 21. Revelation of S. Francis' Death to the Bishop of Assisi; 22. Incredulity of S. Girolamo.

(Nos. 20, 21, 22 probably by a *Pupil of Giotto.*)

23. S. Chiara before the Body of S. Francis; 24. Canonisation of S. Francis (Nos. 23, 24 are attributed both to the painters of Nos. 20, 21, 22, and to that of Nos. 1, 25-28 (A)); 25. Dream of Gregory IX at Perugia; 26. S. Francis Cures a Wounded Man; 27. Confession of the Woman of Benevento; 28. S. Francis Releases Peter of Alesia from Prison (Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, perhaps by the painter of No. 1 (A) ?).

The above analysis agrees nearly with Fry's except in questioning Nos. 13, 16, 17, 18.

An hypothesis is that Giotto's reputation was made before the series was nearly finished, and that he was called to Rome (*Stefaneschi Altarpiece*, questioned as Giotto's, 1298), leaving designs for the rest of the cycle to be carried out by assistants.

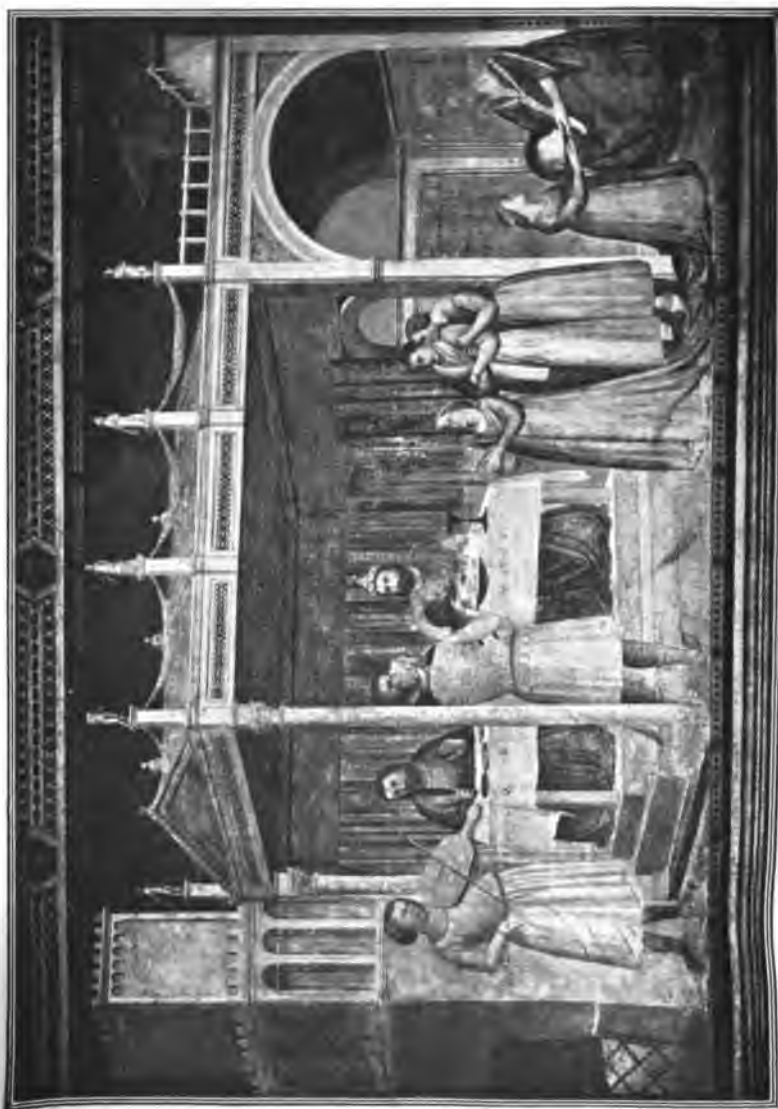
## AUTHORITIES

*Full titles to be found in Lists if not given here*

AUBERT (very important for the analysis of quality leading to attribution). THODE, *Franz von Assisi*; *Giotto* (compare with other critics). CRISTOFANI, "Le Retrate del '300 nel Basilica inferiore di Assisi," *Rass. d'A.*, XI, 1911, pp. 153-160 (Sept.); pp. 161-8 (Oct.) (an interesting supplement to the study of the paintings). GIUSTO, important monograph on same subject. FRY's two articles on Giotto, &c., at Assisi in *Monthly Review*, 1900, are interesting and suggestive, but should be read with later authorities. GORDON, *Story of Assisi*,



Fig. 24.



THE FEAST OF HEROD.  
Page 34.

GIOTTO.

Drogi.

St. Cesare, Florence.

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1901 (careful and complete description of the decorations of the Church). SCHUBRING, *Giottino*, in *Jahrb. d. k. pr. Kunstsammlung*, 1900, **xxi**, 161-77 (contains illustration of S. Stanislaus). SIRÉN, *Giotto* (containing attributions), *Giottino* (containing a chapter on the paintings at Assisi). SUIDA, *Maso und Giottino*, *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, **xxvii**, 483 ff. BERENSON (the latest editions). VENTURI, *Storia, etc.*, **v**, 1 ff., important for discussion and illustration; *La Basilica, etc.* ZIMMERMANN, *Giotto, etc.*

Mr. F. MASON PERKINS has superseded his opinions as expressed in his *Giotto* (1902). At his request we give his views, stated in a private communication (Jan. 1911), as follows:

Upper Church, S. Francis Cycle.—No. 1. Latest in date; Giotto almost certainly did not work on Nos. 2-12, 14, 15, 24, 26-28. If Giotto worked in the series at all, it was in some parts of Nos. 13, 16-23, or in No. 1.

Lower Church, Vows.—Poverty, Obedience, and Chastity by A with slight help from B; Glory of S. Francis by B.

North Transept—Eight scenes from the Life of Christ to A and B together; the Annunciation and Crucifixion to A almost entirely; the Medallion to B alone; date hardly earlier than 1330.

Chapel S. M. Magdalen, the following by Giotto—Raising of Lazarus (4); M. Magdalen anointing the Feet of Christ (3); Communion of the Magdalen (2); the Figure of the Magdalen in *Noli me Tangere* (8); and possibly the Magdalen holding the Hand of Bishop Pontormo (10).

All others by followers of Giotto, though some are from Giotto's designs.



BRUNO'S STR. VIEW OF THE BASILICA AND CONVENT OF SAN FRANCESCO, FROM A DRAWING MADE IN 1896

## IV

GIOTTESCHI<sup>1</sup>

For the century following Giotto, his manner was carried throughout the length and breadth of Italy. The very names of his followers are suggestive—Giovanni of Milan, Antonio the Venetian, Francesco of Volterra, Spinello of Arezzo. A hundred Florentine and provincial minor masters of the 14th century were painting all over Italy. Almost every village church had examples. But the result is something of an anti-climax: the Giottesque forms are used to express obvious, popular thought. At Florence the art mainly reflects a bourgeois, or even plebeian society. Among the provincials it often shows local manners and dress suggesting high life. As the century proceeds, Giottesque painting deteriorates. The most interesting and beautiful works of Giotto's school are by immediate pupils—generally unknown, who retain the dignity of Giotto's inspiration. They never forget his design, and his sense for the general effect rather than for specific details. Of such are the Assisi frescoes already mentioned (pp. 51-2, 56-7). Even several quite minor followers, whom we know by very modest signed works, reflect the master's seriousness.<sup>2</sup> After that first generation the Giottesque masters are usually charming, but unprogressive craftsmen, of little education or refinement. They are easily surpassed by the Sieneese of the period, who are found side by side with the Giotteschi in various regions.

Among the group of Giotto's intimate assistants who were active during the first half of the 14th century we hear of Stefano (1301?-1350), "ape of nature," and Maso (still unidentified), Buffalmacco, and Taddeo Gaddi, Giotto's chief assistant. Gaddo

<sup>1</sup> Authorities are Schrubring, Thode, Suida, Toesca, Horne, Gamba, Perkins. Siren analyses well the early authorities, *i.e.* Fil. Villani, Ghiberti, etc., and deduces the principal pupils of Giotto. We follow his grouping. For drawings of 14th c. Florentines see Siren, *Pr. Jahrb.*, XXVII, 208-23. See also Fry.

<sup>2</sup> Pacino di Bonaguida (Florence Acad.) is one.

Gaddi (1259-1333 ?), Taddeo's father, was a friend of Giotto, and is connected by recent criticism with certain works in Rome.

Among those not pupils of Giotto, but instructed by his pupils, we find Bernardo Daddi (born in the last years of the 13th century), Giottino, son of Stefano, Andrea Orcagna, Agnolo Gaddi, Taddeo's son, and Giovanni da Milano—a group whose activity culminates from 1360-1380. And, finally, toward the end of the 14th century, in the generation before Masolino and Masaccio, among the last Giottesques, Antonio Veneziano, Starnina (1354-1408 ?),<sup>1</sup> Spinello Aretino, and such minor men as Cennini (latter part of the 14th century and early part of the 15th). None of these men are great, but some are attractive, and all assist in that reorganisation of the study of nature which was the outcome of Giotto's influence. The century is important historically as preparing the way, but, with a few exceptions, there is almost a dead level of artistic mediocrity.

Three tendencies are manifest among the Giotteschi. One is genre and popular, seen in the Gaddi and Giovanni da Milano, and also seen in other Tuscan schools and outside of Tuscany. A second emphasizes Giotto's classic feeling, and even refines upon the master in that direction, as Bernardo Daddi in his smaller panel pieces, and later Orcagna. Still a third—that of romantic feeling—is represented by Giottino in a personal phase.

**Taddeo Gaddi**, about 1300-1366.—Giotto's naturalism was more quickly understood than his higher gifts. His most famous pupil, Taddeo Gaddi,<sup>2</sup> once free from his master's immediate influence, vulgarised the style. The Bible stories and legends lose significance and become events of the day. In the Baroncelli

<sup>1</sup> His works are lost. *Frescoes* in Chapel of the Sacrament, S. Croce, Florence, should be noticed in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> A document at Pistoia (*see* C. & C., II, 126, n. 1) names Tad. Gaddi first on a list of the best Florentine painters of the year 1347 or soon after; the list mentioning also Stefano, Orcagna, and "Nardo" (not Bernardo Daddi, Perkins), Puccio (Capanna), and a Master Francesco (*cf.* Siren's deductions, chap. i.). Villani called Giotto's best pupils Maso, Stefano, Taddeo (quoted by Vent., V, 453). In a story of Sacchetti, a novelist writing a little after Boccaccio, the men mentioned as after Giotto in fame were Cimabue, Stefano, Bernardo, Buffalmacco (Vent., V, 453-4). Ghiberti says Stefano, Tad. Gaddi, Maso, Buonamico (*i.e.* first name of Buffalmacco).



Chapel, S. Croce, the most monumental of Taddeo's works, the *Presentation of the Virgin*,<sup>1</sup> is told as an actual domestic history with diversified groups and pretty, comfortable-looking architecture to fill the space. It is successful genre, with a general decorative effect. Such pictures are common in Giotto's art. In the small panels from the presses of the Sacristy of S. Croce (Florence Academy)<sup>2</sup> Giotto's designs are repeated in shorthand, as it were, and Taddeo's triptych *Coronation of the Virgin* (Berlin) in composition and execution is fresh from Giotto's inspiration. There is lovely Gothic architecture, vivid movement, and good colour, but with these a coarsening of style. The frescoes of the *Story of Job* in the Campo Santo, Pisa (ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi),<sup>3</sup> must be mentioned in a survey of Giotto's ideals. They are rich in incident and naturalistic detail, and the landscape in which Satan stands, at the beginning of the series, is quite unique for its time in breadth of treatment.<sup>4</sup>

Buffalmacco, living in 1351.—The fragments of a series of frescoes in the Badia, Florence (attributed by Vasari to Buffalmacco),<sup>5</sup> add some precious indications of the character of this early Giottoesque style, and fit the old descriptions of Buffalmacco's personality. In the fragments of the *Mocking of Christ*, and in the *Judas Hanging Himself*, Giotto's style appears in the breadth of form and the peculiar treatment of the narrow eyes, and also in the absence of any Byzantine or Siennese manner. What is more remarkable is the reversion to classic feeling, in the *Judas* with its Latin realism of accessories and setting, and in the bit of tree-drawing, entirely in the Pompeian manner,

<sup>1</sup> The drawing for it is in the Louvre. Composition copied by one of the de Limbourgs, the French artists of the 15th c., in *Book of Hours*, Chantilly.

<sup>2</sup> Two of these panels are in Berlin.

<sup>3</sup> By Sirén, *Giotto*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Sirén (*Burl. Mag.*, XIV, 126) gives to Taddeo the *Madonna and Ten Saints*, E., N.Y. Hist. Soc., and the large *Entombment*, L., Jarves Coll., Yale Univ. He calls Jacopo da Casentino a pupil of Taddeo, and attributes to him the *Nativity*, Boston (property of Boston Athenæum). Cf. the signed triptych by Jacopo in Count Cagnola's collection, Milan. See Horne, *Jac. dal Casentino*.

<sup>5</sup> Recently discovered. See N.Y. *Nation*, XCII, 252, March 9, 1911, for a note on the discovery containing reference to art. by P. Bacci, "Gli Affreschi di Buffalmacco scoperti nella Chiesa di Badia in Firenze," *Boll. d'A.*, Jan. 1911, 1-27. They tend to confirm Vasari's authority. Cf. the Master of the *S. Cecilia Altarpiece*, Uffizi, and Giov. da Rimini's *Altarpiece*, Urbino, and Sir Hubert Parry's *Nativity*, Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, II, 117.

Fig. 25.



TABERNACLE, OR SAN MICHELE.

*Alinari.*

ORCAGNA.

Page 65.

Florence.

Fig. 26.



ALTARPIECE, OR SAN MICHELE.

Page 65.

DADDI (?).

Florence.

Fig. 27.



*Brogi*

SMALL PANED FROM S. CROCE.

Page 64.

TAD. GADDI.

Academy, Florence.

Fig. 28.



DEPOSITION.  
Page 65.

Anderson.

GIOTTO.

Uffizi.

naturalistic, and without Giotto's elemental feeling. From style one might conclude that Buffalmacco began as a Cavallini follower, and is only half Giottesque. He certainly represents the most developed phase of the naturalism seen in some of Giotto's contemporaries.

Daddi, 1299-(?).—In the second generation of important early Giottesque masters is Bernardo Daddi, the possible teacher of Orcagna.<sup>1</sup> More serious than Taddeo, and in his best work<sup>2</sup> more conservative, he is historically less representative. His dry and hardly monumental wall-painting, as the clumsy S. Croce *Frescoes*, is relieved by the numerous small panels which are often charming.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps by him is the wonderful *Altarpiece* in the Tabernacle of Orcagna, in Or S. Michele (Florence), which is one of the problems in attribution.<sup>4</sup> The golden colour, carried from background into flesh-tones and the steps of the throne, and suggests Siena. But the type of face, and the solidity of modelling, is hardly Sienese. It seems rather an example of Sienese feeling permeating Florentine art. If this is indeed by Daddi he becomes one of the most sensitive designers and colourists in Giotto's following.

Giottino, 1324-1404.<sup>5</sup>—To the same period belongs Giottino, an original master, of personal sensibility rather than one who carries on the qualities of Giotto. No other follower of Giotto shows such a romantic feeling as that of his Uffizi *Deposition*, such dignified sentiment as the *Frescoes* in S. Croce, yet the art seems constrained and archaic. The details are more attractive than the ensemble, and we turn to the younger Orcagna for greater completeness of expression.

Orcagna, 1308?-1363-76?—Andrea di Cione (Orcagna), born

<sup>1</sup> See Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, II, 126.

<sup>2</sup> See *Tabernacle* in the Bigallo, Florence, signed, dated 1333.

<sup>3</sup> See *Vision of S. Domenic*, Jarves Collection, Yale Univ.; *S. Peter Martyr Preaching*, Mus. des Arts decoratifs, Paris (both ascribed and reprod. by Sirén, *Burl. Mag.*, XIV, 183, 188 and 193 and Pl. 1); and the *Navicella*, Raczynski collection, Berlin (our attention was called to this by Mr. Berenson), all seemingly part of one altarpiece. There is a striking, small *Crucifixion*, Mr. D. F. Platt's coll., Englewood, N. J.; and a signed *Altarpiece*, dignified, even monumental, belonging to Sir Hubert Parry, reprod. *Burl. Mag.*, II, 121.

<sup>4</sup> Vasari gave to Ugolino of Siena. Referred by Vent. (V, 770; cf. 521) to Orcagna. Given by Mil. (Vas.) and others to Daddi.

<sup>5</sup> See Sirén's *Giottino*, chap. ii., and important review by Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, XV, 54. Sirén (*Giottino*, 15, 16) thinks Giottino influenced by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and attributes to him works in S. Chiara, Assisi, *op. cit.* 13, 15, 90.

while Giotto was in full maturity, carries on Giotto's classic convention in his only extant frescoes—*The Paradise* and *Last Judgment*—covering two walls of the Strozzi Chapel (S. M. Novella, Florence)—the most important Florentine wall decoration between Giotto and Masolino. *The Paradise* shows a pure serenity, which had not been especially characteristic of Florentine masters; the separate figures in the ordered array of the blessed are full of charm, in their consciousness of the enthroned presence of a benignant and noble Christ and queenly Virgin. *The Last Judgment*, on the window wall, is less successful as a whole, but soft in colour and of great beauty, with variety of expression in the faces; in both, the colour in some strange way survives repainting and warms the whole chapel with a golden grey.

Less notable is the best of Orcagna's extant panel-pieces—a largely conceived and severe painting over the altar of the same chapel.<sup>1</sup> Nor is his sculpture so beautiful. The medium and contemporary tradition were ill adapted to his contemplative genius, and he is less advanced than Andrea Pisano, whom Vasari calls his master.<sup>2</sup> Of his *Mosaics*, once on the façade of the Orvieto Cathedral, now in part at South Kensington, in their present condition we cannot judge. But to Orcagna is due that exquisite creation in various colours, of marble and metal and inlay, the *Tabernacle* of Or San Michele in Florence. Of Orcagna's school are the *Frescoes* in the little cloister of S. M. Novella. They are attractive but not great, though attributed to Giotto by Ruskin.<sup>3</sup> Orcagna's brothers, NARDO and JACOPO DI CIONE,<sup>4</sup> are unimportant masters. The *Inferno* opposite Orcagna's *Paradise* (Strozzi Chapel), attributed to Nardo, is important for the original and imaginative parts of the design, but it is not in Andrea's vein, and it is almost a complete wreck. Nardo's work cannot be disentangled from that of the

<sup>1</sup> Sirén, in *Giottino*, 89, gives to Orcagna the *Three SS.*, in London ascribed to Spinello. B. B., following Ghiberti, considers the S. M. Novella frescoes as probably all by Nardo.

<sup>2</sup> Vas. (Mil.), I, 593.

<sup>3</sup> For subjects see Vent., V, 766; Suida, *Florentische Maler*, 20, 21, Pl. 15, 16; Sirén, *Giottino*, 89 (Nardo di Cione).

<sup>4</sup> For them see Suida, *Florentische Maler*, 18–27, and Sirén, *Giottino*, 71–81. F. J. Mather, junr., calls our attention privately to an impressive *Trinity* (Certosa, Florence), which he attributes to Nardo. See favourable view of Nardo by Suida, Sirén, and others.

15th century artist who, at least in part, repainted it. In the same group of painters should be mentioned **NICOLO DI PIERO GERINI**, the "great entrepreneur of the day," under whom **Jacopo di Cione** worked.

**Agnolo Gaddi**, 1333 ?-1396.—In the same artistic generation as **Daddi** and **Orcagna**—but in the genre group—was **Agnolo Gaddi**, who inherited the facile style of his father **Taddeo**, though with an added grace, probably due to the influence of the gentler and more aristocratic painting of the Sienese.<sup>1</sup> His creative period is in the late trecento. **Vasari** mentions his presence at **Venice**,<sup>2</sup> but there is no confirmation of the statement, and no indication of his influence there. In decoration he is happiest in the damaged **Prato Frescoes**, which though difficult to see are earnest and pleasant, in contrast to his series in the **Choir of S. Croce** (**Florence**), which lacks seriousness and shows the decline from **Taddeo**. Like his father, he is a "little master," and at his best in paintings, as is seen in the typical *Annunciation*<sup>3</sup> of the **Uffizi**, a pretty idyl of unreal figures, with slight but pleasing predelle which follow the schemes of **Taddeo's S. Croce frescoes**.

**Giovanni da Milano**, about 1300—considerable part of trecento.<sup>4</sup>—Of the same period, **Giovanni da Milano** was the best of a group of **Gaddesque** masters who continue **Giotto's** form in a genre spirit. He and, a little later, **Antonio Veneziano** represent a distinct movement toward **Renaissance naturalistic** forms, as against the conservatism of the **Gaddi**. Evidently inspired by the actual life around him, he can be surprisingly modern. In the decorative frescoes of the *Life of the Virgin* in **S. Croce, Florence**,<sup>5</sup> the figures are evidently from nature, and the landscape is worked up in detail—a naturalism which may well have been suggestive to **Masolino**. Yet for all his talent **Giovanni** represents the un-ideal and appears commonplace after **Giotto** and **Orcagna**.

**Antonio Veneziano**, flourished in the second half of the 14th century.—Allied to **Giovanni** in his naturalism is **Antonio**

<sup>1</sup> To judge by such examples as the small *Madonna with Four SS.* (**Prato**).

<sup>2</sup> *Vas.*, I, 641.

<sup>3</sup> School-piece?

<sup>4</sup> His types are partly **Milanese** like his origin.

<sup>5</sup> **C. & C.'s** ascription has been confirmed by a recently discovered document (*see Doug., C. & C., II, 185, n. 1*).

Veneziano,<sup>1</sup> an original master coming in the second generation after Giotto. His works indicate his derivation from the Gaddi, although he is more naturalistic than they, and an abler technician. As the teacher of Starnina<sup>2</sup> he may be considered a transitional master, leading to an early Renaissance style. His only authenticated work—a portion of the series from the *Life of S. Ranieri*<sup>3</sup> on the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa—gives his measure as unconventional, inventive in detail, with capacity for broad effects like the landscape vista in the *Landing of S. Ranieri in Jerusalem*, and bold motives like the ship and its full sails, clearly plowing the water—a capacity seen also in the *Death of the Saint*, both in expressions and attitudes and in the composition of the Pisan cathedral. In all he shows a rather gay and pleasant tone. He is a colourist, and a master, if not a great one. What he lacks is the monumental feeling and definite pattern of the true Giotteschi. It is good illustration rather than beautiful design.

**Spinello**, 1333?–1410.—Finally, late in the century, Spinello Aretino, a Gaddesque painter of great influence, illustrates the gradual disintegration of Giotto's style. In his fresco of the *Battle of Egidion* (Pisan Campo Santo) the ordered Giottesque patterns give way to a lively play of moving figures and vivid colour, without significance. His *Frescoes* at Siena are interesting merely as documents of manners. His early *Paintings* in S. Miniato (Florence)<sup>4</sup> are more in the tradition of the Gaddi, but are less original and attractive even than those at Pisa and Siena. As a partial foil to these well-known works, in the little forsaken oratory of S. Caterina, near the village of Antella, outside of Florence,<sup>5</sup> are frescoes which may be Spinello's, frescoes with refined and individual types, which are interesting and even lovely. Besides these there are several panel pictures worth notice. But notwithstanding these, and in spite of his great fecundity and enormous vogue, Spinello is decadent.<sup>6</sup> Much more important is the transitional Lorenzo Monaco.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio "of Venice." No trace of his work in Venice. He worked in the Doge's palace, see C. & C., Ital. Ed. 1897, II, 211.

<sup>2</sup> P. 63 and n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> P. 70. Series begun by Andrea da Firenze, finished by Ant. Venez. Andrea is identified by a doc. pub. by Bonaini giving record of final payment in 1377.

<sup>4</sup> Badly repainted. For subjects see Vent., V, 864 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In good condition. Little if any repainted. Attribution on internal evidence.

<sup>6</sup> See by his school the decorations of the old pharmacy of S. M. Novella.

Fig. 29.



*Brogi.*

S. RANIERI FRESCOES.  
Page 68, n. 3.

ANDREA DA FIRENZE.

Campo Santo, Pisa.

Fig. 30.



*Brogi.*

S. RANIERI FRESCOES.  
Page 68.

ANTONIO VENEZIANO.

Campo Santo, Pisa.



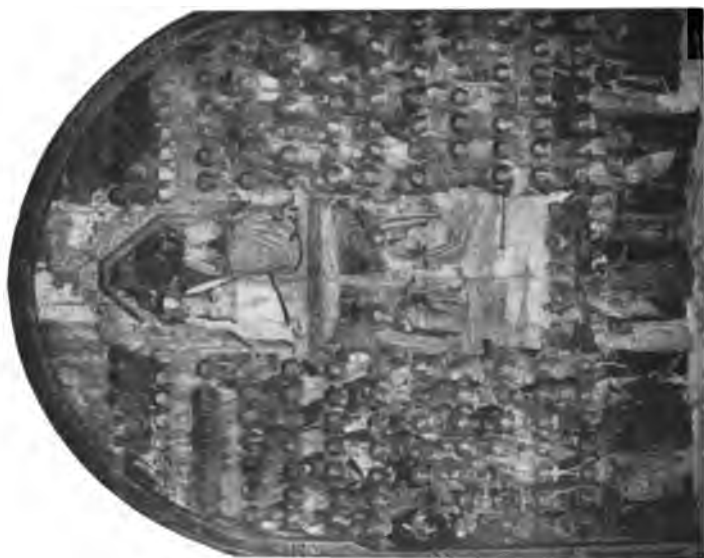
Fig. 31.



DETAIL OF PARADISE.  
Page 66.  
S. M. Novella, Florence.

ORCAGNA.

Fig. 32.



Brogi.

PARADISE.  
Page 66.

ORCAGNA.

S. M. Novella, Florence.

Lorenzo Monaco (1370-1425)<sup>1</sup> worked in the first twenty years of the 15th century, thus being an older contemporary of Masaccio, and is the last Giottesque artist of talent. His form is that of Agnolo Gaddi, but with greater style in line. This has a sort of Gothic rhythm and flow, due perhaps to the influence of northern miniatures, or through the sculpture of the Pisani. He sees form in the generalised way of mediæval artists, as against the naturalistic tendency characteristic of the early Renaissance. An illustration of this is his *Angel Gabriel* (Uffizi), where he is at his best, a typical example of "intuitional" rather than either naturalistic or conventional drawing. The forearm is very fine, suggested, as in Botticelli's figure drawing.<sup>2</sup> His beautiful *Frescoes* in S. Trinità, Florence, are among the best works of the time, and so is his interesting altarpiece of the *Annunciation* in the same chapel.

He is a type of numerous artists of the period, who still carry on the tradition of a definite order. In their cumulative effect the value of a tradition permeated with classic feeling for form becomes manifest. We must always remember the solidarity of artistic interests in Italy and the permanence of tradition. The extraordinary achievements of the great masters could hardly have been without this average substratum implying a general taste for visual things. Lorenzo, indeed, is not insignificant. Besides his own peculiar charm, as the master of Filippo Lippi, and probably of Fra Angelico, he becomes an important transitional painter between mediæval and Renaissance art in Florence.

But there is much Giottesque painting of a secondary type, as in Pistoia, the *Communion of S. Mary of Egypt*, a fragment in S. Francesco attributed to the obscure PUCCIO CAPANNA; and in the refectory, some charmingly naïve vaulting frescoes from the *Life of S. Francis*.<sup>3</sup> At Pisa, in the Campo Santo, there are commonplace yet interesting *frescoes* from the *Old Testament* by PUCCIO DA ORVIETO, which show an average provincial talent, full of curious details. Also of the time of Lorenzo Monaco are the *frescoes* of the Loggia del Bigallo, Florence, the *Madonna of the Misericordia* (1342), with an interesting view of Florence. This illustrates a naturalistic phase of the Giottesque tradition better than any

<sup>1</sup> See *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, by Siren.

<sup>2</sup> Fry, *Monthly Rev.*, on drawing by Lorenzo Monaco.

<sup>3</sup> In a fine state of preservation. Attrib. to Puccio by Douglas, C & C., II, 150, n. 1.

other extant works of the transition, and are without any of Masolino's sense for style.

The Giottesque movement overflows into the quattrocento in numerous small men, who are almost untouched by the new ferment in painting. CENNINO CENNINI, late 14th and early 15th century, a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, is important rather as a writer on painting than as a painter.<sup>1</sup> PARRI SPINELLO SPINELLI, (b. 1387),<sup>2</sup> the son of Spinello Aretino, with impossible proportions, represents a decadent provincial style of no importance, having a certain charm, yet forgetful alike of tradition and nature.

**The Bicci.**—The central type of this popular art is found in the family of the Bicci,<sup>3</sup> who represent the passing of trecento ideas into the early fifteenth century. Among them is LORENZO, active in the late fourteenth century, of whom we have notices, but no certain works. The same is true of BICCI DI LORENZO (1373-1452).<sup>4</sup> By following the family well into the fifteenth century we come to NERI DI BICCI, an artist of some historical importance,<sup>5</sup> who is treated in his proper place. DELLO DELLI is another of the group, well reputed as a decorator, but of whom we know little or nothing; and ANDREA DA FIRENZE, who worked in the Campo Santo at Pisa<sup>6</sup> and is accredited with a large portion of the decorations of the Spanish Chapel in Florence. Andrea, classed as a Florentine follower of Simone Martini, is an example of the influence upon Florence of Sienese ideals, which among others invaded and helped to re-mould Florentine Giottesque art.

Before considering the next phase of Florentine art, one must follow the course of the mediæval survival and the transition into North Italy and Umbria.

<sup>1</sup> C. & C., II, 237, 248.

<sup>2</sup> For works at Arezzo see C. & C., Ital. Ed. 1897, II, 466-68. There are peculiar drawings in the Uffizi.

<sup>3</sup> For notices see Milanese, *Giorn. degli Archivi Toscani* (1860), 3-10. And in Sulla, *Stor. dell' Arte Tosc.*, 265-73, 307-12; also Mil. notes to *Vas.* For works see C. & C. For bibliography and list (Siena) see Vent., VII, 24, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> In Baldinucci, I, 96 ff. See Lorenzo's SS. *Cosmo and Damiano*, with predelle (Uffizi), formerly in Duomo, Florence. See Bicci di Lorenzo's *Madonna* (Parma), signed 1433, reprod. *Riv. d'Arte*, V, 88. For him and others see Toesca; also Sirén, *L'Arte*, VII, 345-8.

<sup>5</sup> See *altarpiece* in the Regio Lotto (Florence), once in S. Pancranzio.

<sup>6</sup> Series continued by Ant. Veneziano (1384-1386), see p. 68, n. 3.

## EARLY NORTH ITALY<sup>1</sup>

COMPLETE independence was impossible for North Italian schools, set as they were on the high-road between Northern Europe and Central Italy and with Venice stretching into them on the east. Both ideas and forms were introduced from the Levant, from Northern Europe,<sup>2</sup> from Florence, Siena, and the Marches, and in the Renaissance from Venice. Northern Italy is divided into certain more or less distinct regions.

The Veneto is the low alluvial region in the north-east between the lagoons of Venice and the foot-hills of the Alps; it is connected geographically and sometimes was politically with Venice. Its eastern portion is called Friuli.<sup>3</sup> Its western portion includes the territories of Verona and Padua, at first independent, finally absorbed by Venice.

The great central plain of North Italy was divided between Milan and its dependencies on the north-west, and the fertile region adjoining the Veneto between the Po and the Apennines, called the Emilia,<sup>4</sup> which included among others the great cities of Bologna and Ferrara.

Finally, there were Piedmont and Genoa on the west, affiliated with each other rather than with Milan, and connected with Northern Europe by both political and commercial relationships.

The conditions of North Italian art are more complex than in Central Italy. It is less centralised at a few points and less controlled by a dominant tradition. There is more exchange of

<sup>1</sup> General guides are Ricci, *N. Italy*; B. B., *N. Ital. Painters*, whose authority we closely follow for the relations of the minor N. Ital. Renaiss. schools. Vent., VII, for early masters; Frizzoni, including numerous articles in periodicals, and the catalogues of the galleries of Milan and Turin. For special studies see books and articles by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri.

<sup>2</sup> For relation of French Primitives to 14th c. Italians, see Fry's arts., *Burl. Mag.*, June, July, 1904, and Buchot, *L'Arte*, VII, 223-40. C. & C., *N. Italy*, and Morelli are now out of date.

<sup>3</sup> Named from Forum Julii. Important for extant monuments of the 7th and 8th c. Borderland of NE. Italy. Lies between the river Piave and the present Austrian frontier = half mountain and half valley, lovely landscape and poor soil. Western Veneto lies between rivers Piave (E.) Mincio (W.), Po (S.).

<sup>4</sup> From the ancient Via Emilia, stretching from Rimini to Piacenza. Named from its builder, M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul 187 B.C.

styles, and there are the obscure differences due to the mixture of racial elements. North Italian schools can hardly be classified by localities alone, yet local characteristics have their importance. Venice is the only instance of a clearly continuous tradition. But there are other distinct schools, which may be grouped into the regions of Padua, Verona, The Emilia (of which Ferrara-Bologna is the important school), Milan, and Genoa. The art of smaller provincial towns is usually related to the larger centres. This local classification, however, gives way before a classification by periods—the Early and Central Mediæval; the Trecento; the Early Renaissance; and the High Renaissance.

THE MEDIÆVAL has been already sketched.

THE TRECENTO is still mediæval, but is noticeable for the emergence of individual artists, though no remarkable master is produced to compare with Simone Martini, or even Orcagna. The Italo-Byzantine tradition had everywhere become an unimportant ecclesiastical style. Northern Trecento art may be grouped in two schools, consisting of, 1. North Italian Masters of Florentine School or Training, who nevertheless show local qualities, as Giovanni of Milan and Antonio of Venice, already discussed;<sup>1</sup> 2. Masters of Provincial Giottesque or Sienese Style, as seen in the school of Verona and in two independent masters—Thomas and Barnaba of Modena.

**Thomas of Modena.**—Of these two Thomas was an individual descriptive master, who worked as far afield as Bohemia. Vigorous and naturalistic typical examples by him or his school are at Treviso, and a signed *Madonna* at Vienna.

**Barnaba** (active 1377–1383)<sup>2</sup> was competent but traditional. His origin may be in the Byzantine school of Bologna, and he appears to be half Sienese in training. He also worked much away from home, and settled for years in Genoa. He is chiefly known by his signed *Madonnas*,<sup>3</sup> as his *Madonna with SS., Angels, Crucifixion, &c.* (Modena), which is close to the style of Sienese painters of the late trecento.<sup>4</sup>

In all these early provincial schools there is a tendency to

<sup>1</sup> Justus of Padua (late Trecento), p. 77, is a minor master of entirely Florentine style.

<sup>2</sup> For him see art. with bibliography by C. Ricci, *Burl. Mag.*, xxiv. 65 ff.

<sup>3</sup> At Turin, &c. See C. & C. for list.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gent. da Fabriano's *Madonnas* in the Poldi-Pezzoli coll., Milan, or in Pisa, for an affinity.

naturalism, as is shown by the works of Giotto's scholars at Rimini, by the Bolognese Giotteschi, by the school of Verona, and the trecento Venetians. By the close of the century the provincial Giottesque type was dying out everywhere.

THE QUATTROCENTO (Early Renaissance) began with fresh motives. Early Sienese painting through Simone Martini had to some extent changed the style of French Gothic, especially in Franco-Flemish work. Now the Northern European mode ebbed back upon Italy, bringing dainty Gothic linear design.<sup>1</sup> Early in this (15th) century appeared the first artist of true power in North Italy, Pisanello of Verona. He, with subordinate masters, including certain minor men of Brescia and Milan, formed a school half mediæval and half Renaissance which was probably originally influenced by Franco-Flemish art.

Among the early schools, Milan in the west and Padua, Verona, and Venice on the east are alone important, although Treviso, in the western Veneto, may be mentioned because it has notable trecento frescoes, including those of Thomas of Modena, and numerous secondary artists of the quattrocento, as the early Girolamo and Dario.

## I

EARLY PIEDMONT.—The early art of Piedmont and Liguria shows its derivation—Gothic and Giottesque—from the north and Lombardy, and is not in itself of note.

## II

EARLY MILAN AND LOMBARDY.—The Milanese region, including Brescia, is important in art history from beginning to end. In the early 4th century Milan was the central city of the Roman world, and Roman monuments still survive.<sup>2</sup> Later, ruined by the invasions of the Goths and Lombards, she yielded in importance first to Ravenna then to the near-by Lombard stronghold of Pavia. The Romanesque period found her a leader

<sup>1</sup> This seems to affect Thomas of Modena, Gent. da Fabriano, and Stefano da Zevio. Fry believes the high originality of Paul de Limbourg, especially in landscape, was influential on Pisanello. Paul de Limbourg, for all his wonderful modern feeling, is clearly Italianised in form. Typical examples were the *Snow Scene* and a *Seascape* by the de Limbourgs in the Turin Book of Hours, destroyed with library in fire of 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Maximian transferred the seat of the empire to Milan in 286.

among the free Italian communes, with the greatest Lombardic church of the region, S. Ambrogio, dedicated to her hero-bishop. The most important art of the region belongs to this period, in the Lombardic architecture culminating in the 12th century. With the usurpation of power by the Visconti, Milan did not lose in prosperity, but there was little painting<sup>1</sup> until the introduction of the Giottesque, or rather Gaddesque, style in the late trecento, when Giovanni da Milano worked in Central Italy under Giottesque training. We can clearly distinguish Giovanni da Milano's naturalism here in a looser form, especially in the recent discoveries in small places, as at Viboldone<sup>2</sup> and at Solaro.<sup>3</sup> This had some special local features, as in the fresco of the *Enthroned Madonna with SS. and Two Knights* (Brera), which resembles a Burgundian tapestry in its flat linear treatment. The style died out at the end of the 14th century or soon after.<sup>4</sup>

**Da Grassi and Others.**—For the last decade of that century we have notices and a few examples of the minor sculptor and painter GIOVANNI DA GRASSI<sup>5</sup> (d. 1398). His book of naturalistic drawings (Civic Library, Bergamo)—studies of costumes, animals, and heraldic devices—suggests a possible source for Pisanello. It certainly supplied a design to the de Limbourg<sup>6</sup> for one of their wonderfully modern miniature paintings in the *Très riches Heures* (Mus. Condé, Chantilly). These drawings are quite un-Italian in feeling, and indicate northern Gothic influence (French or Burgundian). There are others by GIOVANNI DA CAMPIONE<sup>7</sup> in the same Library, which show the same northern feeling (see p. 92). But the hints borrowed from northern countries are less rustic in Milanese art than elsewhere; they are more of the Court of France and Flanders than of the Tyrol.

Another early artist, a little after da Grassi, is MICHELINO DA

<sup>1</sup> The main example is the ornate apse-mosaic of S. Ambrogio (Milan), of *Christ Enthroned with SS. Protasius and Gervase*, in the decadent Byz. style of late 12th or early 13th c. Described by Zimmermann, *Giotto*, 119 n.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Suida, "Le Opere di Giovanni da Milano in Lombardia," *Rass. d'A.*, VI (1906), 11-14, who ascribes some of the Viboldone frescoes to Giov. da Milano.

<sup>3</sup> See Guido Cagnola, *Rass. d'A.*, VII, 1907, 37-42. Suida and Cagnola agree that many Giottesque works existed in Lombard churches.

<sup>4</sup> For Lombard miniatures at the end of the trecento see *L'Arte*, X, 184-96.

<sup>5</sup> See P. Toesca, *L'Arte*, VIII, 321-39. Mentioned in 1398, was a recognised master in 1391.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 73, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> For Campione see Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Rass. d'Arte*, VIII, 1908, 167-174.

BESOZZO;<sup>1</sup> and the same exotic, half Gothic, half naturalistic style is illustrated by the two ZAVATTARI in a later more decadent phase, similar to that of the Early Veronese school, as in the frescoes from the *Life of Theodolinda* (Monza Cathedral).<sup>2</sup> There is also a fresco of *Ladies and Gentlemen at Cards* (Casa Borromeo, Milan) by an unknown artist, Gothic in tendency, and perhaps under Masolino's influence. The secular character of all these decorations reflects the taste of a pleasure-loving society rather than any new intellectual or humanistic movement corresponding to the Florentine.

In early French documents a certain type of manuscript illumination with a naturalistic use of animal motives is called "L'ouvrage de Lombardie," indicating a modification in Lombardy of customary style. This naturalistic movement in Lombardy, following the Giottesque movement, may have been felt in Burgundy or other French schools, while, on the other hand, the Gothicising of style in many traditional Italian painters must be due to the influence of the long Gothic traditions in northern Europe. The exact sources of this Gothic tone in any single case is generally obscure. We do not know whence it comes to the Marches, nor exactly how it filters into the art of Venice or Verona or Piedmont, or even Milan. Possibly Milan may have been a centre for its dissemination when northern artists were imported for its Cathedral. The presence of northern illuminations, the practice, common as early as the 13th century, of spreading abroad an artist's drawings and studies, the close affiliations of some schools, as that of Verona at times, with the North—these are all possible ways for the late Gothic manner to gain a foothold in Italy. But this Gothic factor has no lasting importance for the main currents of art. In Milan itself it dies out entirely by the middle of the 15th century. It was contrary to the Italian spirit, and at best was decadent.

The same is true of the naturalistic elements. The style is temporary and does not affect organic progress. Giovanni da Milano may be an earlier naturalist than any Northern European

<sup>1</sup> See p. 95. Not to be confused with Michelino of Florence. For Michelino as illuminator see Guido Zappa, *L'Arte*, XIII, 443-9. See P. Toesca, *L'Arte*, VIII, 32-39. Leonardo Bosuccio (act. 1428-88), son of Michelino, offers no contribution to the style. See mediocre frescoes, the *Trinity*, &c., with an odd mandorla of angels (S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples).

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 94, 95, 96 and n. 1.



painter, yet he was not a leader even of North Italian style.<sup>1</sup> The general naturalistic trend of Northern European art is so great as compared to any naturalistic Italian trend of the time that this Italian priority is only sporadic. To France and Flanders belong the credit of the first purely naturalistic style in modern Europe, though the debt that the northern Brenderlam, the de Limbourgs, Malouel, and Charenton owe in another way to Italy, especially to the Sienese, is equally obvious.<sup>2</sup>

Mention here should be made of PAOLO OF BRESCIA, a transitional master of naïve charm, as is seen in his *Polyptych* in Turin. Though affected by the Muranese and Gothic masters, he indicates a provincial activity in this region.

The next period, the early 15th century, is more interesting in Milan, but is still of secondary importance. Milan, like Verona, illustrates the dependence of the artist upon the tastes of courtly patrons. The few paintings of the period show little independence. The most important examples are—like those of the 14th century—by a Florentine, Masolino, who may indeed have learned something from local artists, but who does not, like them, suggest anything exotic in style.

### III

EARLY PADUA.<sup>3</sup>—The art history of Padua was confined to the Early Renaissance (15th century), when Squarcione's group, dominated by Mantegna, influenced Venice and much of North Italy. The city, important in Roman times, was early subject to the northern invasions. In the trecento it was harassed by Verona on the one hand and Venice on the other. In 1405 it was annexed to Venetia, and then became free to devote itself to learning and the arts. Before that, however, it had been a patron. Its University (founded in 1222) brought students from everywhere; Dante settled there in his exile (1306); Giotto worked there; and later Avanzi and Altichieri of Verona, and the sculptor Donatello, of Florence,<sup>4</sup> and Gentile da Fabriano.

Guariento.—But there was no native art of note until

<sup>1</sup> For examples of late Giottesque style at Viboldone and Solaro, showing Giov. da Milano's influence, see p. 74 and n. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> For this see Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, VII, 442, and Buchot, *L'Arte*, VIII, 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Testi for Padua.

<sup>4</sup> Middle of 15th c.

Guariento, at the end of the trecento,<sup>1</sup> who was of sufficient importance to be given a large commission at Venice—the *Paradise* (1365),<sup>2</sup> and other mural paintings in the great hall of the Doge's Palace. The style perhaps indicates Giottesque influence, as seen in his frescoes in chiaroscuro in the Choir of the Eremitani—*The Last Judgment*<sup>3</sup> having a regular Giottesque composition in Gothic setting. But his semi-Byzantine form and aristocratic, hieratic tone agreed with Venetian taste, and the *Paradise* gives the decorative scheme followed later in the magnificent pictures of Jacobello del Fiore and Giovanni and Antonio of Murano.

Besides Guariento there is little of a distinctive Paduan character to be found in the trecento. The *Frescoes* of the great Sala of the Palazzo del Ragione (Salone) are somewhat unorganic. The pictures of the *Madonna and Child* and *John the Baptist* (Baptistery of the Santo), ascribed to a certain JURUS OF PADUA, are indifferent works of crude Giottesque style.

#### IV

EARLY VERONA.<sup>4</sup>—In Verona was found the most important art of North Italy, outside of Venice. It had a wonderful mediæval art—Early Lombard and Romanesque.<sup>5</sup> It produced the great Pisanello (1385–1455); and although there are no great native masters after him, there appeared in the 16th century Paolo Veronese, who was so important a factor in Venetian art. The city was a leading post from Roman times. It was a Lombard stronghold, and important in the Middle Ages as guarding one gate of the chief Alpine passes—the Brenner. Its art is

<sup>1</sup> According to Petrucci, *Biog. degli Artisti padovani*, 1859. See also C. & C., Ital. ed., iv. 192. An exceptional instance of a fresco painter at Venice in the trecento. Fresco was unsuited to the damp climate.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradise*, Great Council Hall, Doge's Palace, Venice, uncovered 1903 by the removal of Tintoretto's *Paradise*, described by L. Venturi, 42–4. Reprod. of old engraving of the *Paradise* in Muntz. See C. & C., III, 244, and R. Schmidt, in *Kunst Kronik N. F.*, XIV, 462. See A. Moschetti in *l'Arte*, VII, 395.

<sup>3</sup> For other works see Vent., V, 924 ff. The *Ecce Homo*, Vent., V, 924, fig. 728, is exceptional.

<sup>4</sup> See Verona, by Biadego, in Ricci's *Serie Italia Artistica* (Bergamo, 1909). Also for court painting in the early Renaissance see an elaborate study by Julius von Schlosser, "Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höische Kunst des XIV Jahrhunderts," in Austrian *Jahrb.*, XVI, 144–214.

<sup>5</sup> See A. Vent., II. Especially in the region about Trent.

intensely local and alive. Yet pictorial works before the trecento are fragmentary,<sup>1</sup> and not certainly by local artists.

**Altichieri.**—The first important local painters are the trecento Altichieri (about 1330–1395) and his follower JACOPO AVANZI of Vicenza (?), original masters who dominate the period of transition between the trecento and the true Early Renaissance, and illustrate qualities of North Italian art. The strongest example of the trecento style at Verona is the votive fresco in S. Anastasia of *The Knights of the Cavalli Family* (after 1390), given on internal evidence to Altichieri, where is felt the secular mood, the courtly assertiveness, which often in North Italy enters into devotional art, and ultimately, as in Venice, entirely secularises it.

Other complete examples are the frescoes by Altichieri in the chapel of S. Giorgio in Padua. Here the *Calvary* indicates Florentine influence, but the Veronese master is more complex and more literal. The pictures are discursive. There is a rich tissue of crowded figures, well observed, but without Giotto's incisive power and restraint (compare Giotto's *Crucifixion* of nearly a century earlier in the Arena Chapel hard by). In the other frescoes of the series there are many descriptive passages worked out more completely than in most Florentine art of the time, and there is more portrait feeling and individualisation, but they lack the clear generalising of the Florentines, the aristocratic feeling of the Sienese, the solidity and grace of Thomas of Modena. There are other trecento works of the school, as the signed *Altarpiece* by Turone at Verona, of little importance except for its signature and early date, and the *Calvary*<sup>2</sup> in S. Fermo; but it was not until the early 15th century that Pisanello really gave leadership to the school.

## V

**EARLY VENICE.**<sup>3</sup>—Venice, the most important of all the North Italian schools until the late quattrocento, is less interesting than Verona. The activity of mediæval artists in Venice

<sup>1</sup> See p. 7. See Vent., II, 262–5. and fig. 181, p. 221, and fragments in S. Zeno, Romanesque and Giottesque. Dugento work in S. Zeno has been covered by weaker trecento frescoes. See Schrubring's monograph on Altichieri, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Interesting for comparison with Pisanello in certain motives, as animal anatomy and portrait quality; attrib. by C. & C.

<sup>3</sup> Vent., II, up to 1000 A.D.; II and III, Romanesque period; IV and V, to 14th c. See L. Vent. (for general outline), Testi (the highest authority), Fry.

was very great, but the exact history of the period (up to 1300) is obscure. Byzantine influence dominates, due to close trade relations with the Levant. Artists are imported from the mainland, and there are sporadic artistic relations with French and German schools.

In the trecento we begin with a purely Byzantine art adapted to a genial and beauty-loving people. The long subjection to Byzantine tradition continued certainly until 1400, and even later. This is modified by the end of the 14th century by naturalistic feeling, by ornamental late Gothic motives, by the movement in the school of Murano—adjacent to Venice—and by an influence, half mediæval, half naturalistic, from the Marches and Verona, especially introduced by Pisanello and his colleague, Gentile da Fabriano.

The most characteristic qualities of Venetian art throughout its history are seen in its tendency to find beauty in actual life and in its receptiveness to foreign ideas. There is a gradual modification to a more naturalistic and concrete style. Byzantine art is essentially monumental, Venetian is descriptive and realistic, though refined by a memory of monumental form.

**Lorenzo and Others.**—The earlier artists are to be seen mainly in the Venice Academy as a group of competent craftsmen, sometimes close to the Byzantine in form, sometimes provincial and crude, yet interesting, and invariably able colourists. The effect of their work is a richly decorative ensemble. We must imagine the pictures as belonging to their original architectural setting fully to appreciate them. On the whole they form an unimportant though charming Byzantine survival.<sup>1</sup> Among these five stand out: PAOLO (first half of 14th century), who is partly Byzantine and partly Gothic. SEMITECOLO (last half of 14th century), entirely Byzantine in form, yet fresh and naturalistic in feeling, as in the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Venice);<sup>2</sup> DONATO and CATERINO, who worked together, and are important for one masterpiece, *The Coronation of the Virgin* in Venice, a lovely example in pure Byzantine style.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Stefano Plebanus of S. Agnese; Giovanni of Bologna, who perhaps worked at Venice, L. Vent., 36-8. See also Giov. da Bologna, *Rass. d'Arte*, III, 1903, 36-9, by Moschetti. See also other provincials, Simone de' Crocifissi, Seraphina of Modena or Parma.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Coronation*, by Jac. del Fiore.

<sup>3</sup> Signed by both. L. Venturi (reprod. p. 32) suggests that the real talent here is Donato's, owing to the inferiority of pictures signed by Caterino.

And finally LORENZO (active for a few years after 1366), in whom of all the five the gradual modification of the Byzantine is most evident, and who leads by his characterisation and colour to the transitional painters of the early 15th century.<sup>1</sup> His best example is the large *Altarpiece* (1357, Venice), where the form is Byzantine, but the gay colour and study of the actual model are Venetian. In the central panel the Annunciation hieratic scheme becomes almost secular. The Virgin is conceived, though crudely, for her beauty.<sup>2</sup>

The Paduan Guariento, already discussed, had a noticeable influence on the succeeding generation. His *Paradise* is the most important monument of the Veneto-Byzantine style. He is an exceptional instance of a fresco painter at Venice in the trecento, fresco being unsuited to the damp climate.

All these artists are Byzantine in essential form. Towards the end of the century, however, we have a more transitional style appearing in NICCOLO DI MAESTRO PIETRO (active 1394-1409), a natural and pretty painter of minor quality who leads us easily to the next period, as seen in his charmingly fresh and genre-like *Virgin and Child* (Venice).<sup>3</sup>

FIFTEENTH CENTURY VENICE.<sup>4</sup>—The early quattrocento (1400-1450) is a period of gradual transition from the Veneto-Byzantine style toward greater freedom, though architecture and sculpture are more important than painting.<sup>5</sup> A few men show some progress.

Jacobello,<sup>6</sup> active 1400-c. 1439.—Jacobello del Fiore is a decorative painter, using much raised ornament and gold and architectural motives, and is without naturalistic drawing or invention. In his *Justice* (1421, Venice) there is an entertaining development of the dragon and drapery on acanthus lines, and his attractive *Coronation of the Virgin* (Venice) links Guariento to

<sup>1</sup> A *Madonna*, Louvre (reprod. by Testi), apparently shows Siense-Provençal influence, see p. 27, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Illusts., C. & C., and L. Vent., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Bode suggests that he is identical with N. Semiticolo; see Testi, I; see Paoletti's Cat., Venice Acad., and L. Vent. Reprod. p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> See Albrecht Dürer's *Letters to Willibald Pirckheimer* for the life of Venetian artists in general in the 15th c.

<sup>5</sup> See the late Gothic palace "Ca d'Oro," also the Ducal Palace.

<sup>6</sup> For him and his family see C. & C. Chief works in Venice Acad. In some work he shows the influence of Gent. da Fabriano. Discussed by Mor., III, German ed., 71, n. 1. L. Vent. gives to him the important *S. Grisogino* (S. Trovaso, Venice), attrib. to Jac. Bellini by Fry, *Monthly Rev.*

Fig. 33.



ANNUNCIATION, 1337.  
Page 80.

LORENZO.

Anderson.

Venice.

Fig. 34.



ADORATION OF THE MAGI (Detail).  
Page 88.

GENTILE DA FABRIANO.

*Alinari.*

Academy, Florence.

the coming art of Giovanni and Antonio of Murano (*see their Coronation, S. Pantaleone*).

**Giambono**, active 1420-1460.—Michael Giambono was abler than Jacobello. He is at his best in small devotional panels of somewhat archaic type, intense in feeling, ascetic, rich in colour, and competent in execution. Sometimes he shows a poignant sentiment which forecasts Crivelli of the next generation, as in the *Ecce Homo* (New York), and in one rather vapid altarpiece, *Of the Redeemer between Four Saints* (Venice), he indicates a transition to the school of Murano, and betrays the influence of Gentile da Fabriano.<sup>1</sup> Only a few works are ascribed certainly to him. The *Mosaic* of the Moscoli Chapel (S. Mark's) may in part be his. If so, he shows invention.<sup>2</sup>

**Da Negroponte**, active middle of 15th century.—Of Fra Antonio da Negroponte there remains one lovely work, our only example of him, the *Madonna with the Child* (S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice), Muranese, yet descriptive and gay in feeling. It breathes an outdoor charm, fresh and altogether delightful—the hedge of roses which suggests Verona and Gentile, the soft sky and clouds, the little foreground birds and flowerets, the throne with its Renaissance ornament, Donatello-like reliefs and Paduan garlands.

These men, however, are of no great ability, and are still mediæval. Venetian art did not free itself until toward the end of the century.

## VI

**THE EARLY EMILIA.**—The art of the Emilia has none of the importance of these preceding schools. But nevertheless it is much in evidence both as a transition ground and from the number of its schools and painters.

The Emilia extends from Piacenza and Reggio on the north to Ravenna and Forli on the south, where the access to the Marches brought an easy and continued connection with Umbrian art. In the Emilia lay the great ducal cities of the Renaissance, as Ferrara, Bologna, Parma, with local histories and art.

The Emilian schools are, in the main, independent of Venice. Their mediæval art is interesting, and so is the Giottesque school

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. da Fab.'s early Brera altarpiece. Note likeness to Lorenzo in feeble figure drawing.

<sup>2</sup> Accord. to L. Vent., part of this mosaic is from the designs of And. del Castagno.



following it, and the Paduan influence which appeared in the 15th century. Among these schools a number are especially interesting for mediæval art (as Parma). Some towns were notable in the trecento and quattrocento (as Modena), some were important in the Renaissance alone (as Vincenza and Ferrara), and some, as Bologna, throughout all periods.

**BOLOGNA.**—The art of Bologna in its earlier phases shows the mediæval school represented by numerous Byzantine-Romanesque panels and manuscript illuminations (Bologna Museum and elsewhere). This yields in the trecento to a group of Giottesque, Sienese, and Venetian masters of minor talent, as GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA, who really belongs to the Veneto-Byzantine school.<sup>1</sup> None of these early painters of Bologna have the interest of Barnaba or Thomas of Modena. The movement ends in a loose archaism, continued well on into the 15th century. This is illustrated by LAMBERTINI, whose work suggests a relation of the early Bolognese school to the Umbrian schools of Fabriano and S. Severino.<sup>2</sup> There is also a woman, CATERINA VIGRI, who paints with charming archaism in a manner which carries on the tradition of Lippo di Dalmasio, and who is influenced by the early Venetian school.

**ROMAGNA.**—The schools of Rimini and Faenza, in the so-called Romagna,<sup>3</sup> produced early masters of talent. At Rimini there was an important Giottesque movement in the early 14th century. At Faenza, famous for its ceramic art (faience), the earlier painting has an individuality of its own—for example, in the semi-Giottesque BETTINO DA FAENZA, who shows a lively narrative style in his altarpiece of *S. Giuliano* (1409, Rimini), which is perhaps a continuation, with modifications, of the not unimportant Giottesque school of Rimini.

Before proceeding with the developments in North Italy into which the 14th and early 15th century movements merged, it is necessary to understand something of the conditions in Umbria, whose art had relations with that of the north and with that of Siena, and touched that of Florence.

<sup>1</sup> As Vitale Cavalli, active middle of 14th c., Jacopo Avanzi, Simone de' Crocifissi, and the Umbrian-like Lippo di Dalmasio, who are to be seen in Bologna.

<sup>2</sup> See his native altarpiece *Madonna, &c.* (Venice), derivative of G. da Fabriano.

<sup>3</sup> A name at present confined to the Ravenna district and Forli, but in Dante's time also applied as far north as Ferrara.

## EARLY UMBRIA<sup>1</sup>

THE Umbrian school has no organic continuity. The word is a convenient geographical term to class together Central Italian movements of various origins and character.

Umbria<sup>2</sup> stretches from Tuscany (Arezzo) and the Casentino on the north to the Abruzzi and the Roman Campagna on the south, and from east to west it extends between the Marches and the Chiana Valley. Its art includes the schools of Gubbio, Foligno, Perugia, and some minor localities.

Also to be classed with the Umbrian schools are the Marches—a fertile region stretching between the Apennines and the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, including, among other cities, Urbino, S. Severino, and Fabriano, and for artistic division including Romagna and the Abruzzi. Its connections, on account of easy trade routes, were also with North Italy and Venice.

Besides these schools we have in the Early Renaissance a division formed by a group of artists closely related to Florence, called the Umbro-Florentines. There is indeed in Umbria the traditional, mediæval substratum common to all Italian styles, but the Umbrian schools are not like the Sienese and Florentine, consistent movements in an established tradition. They are more or less affected by exotic influences, and are also liable to break over established canons into a little provincial naturalism.

The questions of outside relations are not simple. They include the infiltration into the Marches during the formative periods of motives from the early Giotteschi of Rimini and the

<sup>1</sup> For list of modern authorities see Vent., VII, Pt. i. 516 n., 167-203, 516-544. See B. B.

For the Mostra of early art at Macerata, see C. Ricci, *Emporium*, 1906; F. M. Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, VI, 49-56; other articles by Perkins in *Rass. d'A.* Important information is contained in the official cat. of works of art in the Marches and Umbria by Cavalcaselle and Morelli, pub. in *Le Gallerie naz. ital.*, II.

<sup>2</sup> The modern province includes Perugia, Foligno, Orvieto, Rieti, Spoleto, and Trevi.

later Giotteschi of Bologna and the Emilia, of Paduan and even Venetian styles; and the question of the earliest influences from Florence and Siena and their extent in Umbria proper.

The early men of the Marches are not in any way classic except where Byzantine influence comes in. They do not belong to Giotto's or Simone's tradition. Whatever traditional character they have is that of the Gothic strain. They count little in the latest and best development of Umbrian style. To set them entirely apart and relate them to the north, best elucidates them. The only great talent of the region—Gentile da Fabriano—influences North Italian art considerably, but is of no virtue elsewhere. Beyond the exotic characteristics a mercurial, emotional tone marks the art of the Marches, a pietism reflecting comparative isolation from humanistic thought, and an interest in landscape due, no doubt, to the varied and exquisite beauty of the local scenery.

The UMBRIAN SCHOOLS may be divided into two periods. The FIRST extends to the middle of the 15th century. It presents local art movements, more or less isolated and sporadic, practically uninfluenced by Florence and closely related to Siena, and apparently to the North. Numerous Giottesque works of the 14th century may be found in Umbria and the Marches, but the Giottesque movement, important at Rimini and in the Emilia, did not find congenial soil, and had little direct influence.<sup>1</sup> During this century Siennese panels are not uncommon here, although in Perugia they are quite insignificant examples, and there are no important frescoes of pure Siennese style.

The SECOND period, from the middle of the 15th century to about 1525 (death of Perugino, 1524), is that of the highest development of Umbrian painting, especially through the influence of Florence, and under certain strong provincial painters, including the Umbro-Florentines. In the 16th century Umbrian art becomes merged into that of the High Renaissance in general.

The FIRST PERIOD is best represented by OTTAVIANO NELLI, of the old Etruscan Apennine town of Gubbio, and by GENTILE DA FABRIANO.

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of the half-Siennese Allegretto Nuzi of Fabriano, who matriculated at Florence, *see* p. 86.

## I

GUBBIO.—The beginnings of the art at Gubbio are an unsolved problem, unhelped by Dante's mention of Oderisi of Gubbio as a famous Gubbian illuminator, as the works conjecturally given to him suggest the mediæval Bolognese style.<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary 14th century remains attest a movement similar to that of Siena, and dependent upon P. Lorenzetti.

The first distinctly recognisable monuments in Gubbio are the fragments of wall-painting attributed to GUIDO PALMERUCCI (active 1315–1342),<sup>2</sup> and are distinctly a Byzantine survival. They show decorative feeling in the affected pose and olive-greenish colour, which is akin to Sienese art, and is quite un-Giottesque.

Nelli, active c. 1400–1444.—But the distinct Gubbian style may best be seen in the genial Ottaviano Nelli, the first recognisable Umbrian master of talent in the trecento. He and his school add to gay colour and refined mediæval technique certain types and motives borrowed from the Sienese, especially, it seems, from Taddeo Bartolo, who was at work in Perugia when Nelli was there in 1400, and again in 1420, but these men, as distinguished from their contemporaries in Siena, are provincial and almost genre. This is seen in the wall-paintings (1424) of the Palazzo Municipale at Foligno, by Nelli, where the fine decorative sense and the naïve attempts at naturalism do not compensate for the loss of religious significance. *The Presentation of the Virgin* is a mere incident with an actually humorous treatment. Five little girls are at school in the temple—two bent over their alphabets, one reciting to a priest, two observing the little Virgin, newly come. The significance is lost, as no Giottesque painter could have lost it.

<sup>1</sup> See two missals with miniatures in the Archivio Capitolare, S. Peter's, Rome (reprod. Vent., V, 1023–4, figs. 786–7), attrib. by C. & C. to Oderisi of Gubbio, second half of 13th c., mentioned by Dante, *Purg.*, XI, verse 79 ff. They are rather of 14th c. Sienese style, see Vent., *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Described by C. & C. (Germ. ed.), II, 352–5. The rehabilitation of the 14th c. school of Palmerucci, &c., by C. & C., is unconfirmed. Vent., VII, 176, n. 3, calls the fragments 15th c. work. Some have been removed. The most interesting is the vigorous *S. Agostino* (S. M. Nuova). For discovery of important 14th c. fresco at Gubbio see *Rass. d'A.*, May 1907. See also the racy choir frescoes in S. Agostino for influence of Bartolo of Siena. Cf. Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, 1907.

Yet within his narrow limits Nelli is good. He is a refined craftsman and colourist, and his fresco, the *Madonna del Belvidere* (Gubbio), his most important work, suggests a mediæval miniature in grace and finish, while his ornamental Gothic tone comes probably from the Marches, and ultimately from the North.

With Nelli the Gubbian school practically ends. His followers are either close imitators or quite insignificant, though his influence is noticeable in the belated and inferior art of MATTEO DA GUALDO, as the *Frescoes* in the Chapel of the Pellegrini, Assisi, and numerous works at Gualdo, perhaps of this school; elsewhere it is imperceptible.

## II

FABRIANO.<sup>1</sup>—The art of Fabriano has likenesses to that of Gubbio, but it is parallel to Gubbian art rather than derived from it, and in the 14th century the likeness does not hold. The art of Fabriano is then essentially half-Giottesque. This is seen in ALLEGRETTO NUZI (d. 1373), a pleasing, second-rate painter, not particularly local in style—the reputed teacher of Gentile da Fabriano. He is a natural outcome of the Giottesque school, and might have been the pupil of Bernardo Daddi or the Gaddi,<sup>2</sup> though he evinces more fondness for flat ornament and greater fineness of execution than was common to the later Giotteschi; and also shows some Sienese influence, as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's. Yet half-Gothic influences, still unexplained, soon supervene in the region. FRANCESCO GHISSI, Allegretto's contemporary, with a flat and almost armless type of the *Madonna del' Umiltà* (Nursing Madonna), common to many painters of the Marches and related schools,<sup>3</sup> shows in a mingling of Giottesque, Byzantine, and northern elements the provinciality that immediately preceded Gentile da Fabriano.

<sup>1</sup> See F. Mason Perkins, a pioneer in the recent investigation of the school, *Rass. d'A.*, 1906-7; Colasanti, *L'Arte*, IX, 263-277; Vent., V, 839 ff.

<sup>2</sup> First pointed out by Perkins. See numerous signed panels—as *triptych* (1365, Vatican), earliest known work; *Madonna and Crucifix* (Berlin), Daddi-like. Venturi tentatively attribs. to Allegretto frescoes in chapel over tomb of S. Nicholas (Tolentino), *Life of Christ, S. Nicholas, &c.* (probably 1340-1350). More likely influenced in the Giottesque school of Rimini. See C. & C., II, 154. See p. 84 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> As Lippo Dalmasio (example, Bologna) and Giovanni da Bologna (example, Venice). The type is common in Bologna and the provinces. It is especially Dominican, accord. to Vent., V, 848, and n., reprod. 852.

## III

GENTILE DA FABRIANO <sup>1</sup>

1360?-1428

Gentile da Fabriano, of all the Umbrian painters—before the Renaissance—is the only one who may fairly be ranked among the leading spirits of the time. Older than his contemporaries Fra Angelico and Masaccio in Florence, and Simone Martini in Siena, and without their valid genius, he still had an influence far more than provincial. He travelled through the Marches and into North Italy, and came in contact with Pisanello, the genius of Verona, whom he probably taught. Just as Venice was beginning to be restive under her long-continued Byzantine tradition, he was summoned to paint there in company with Pisanello (1409-1414 ?),<sup>2</sup> and he exercised a distinct influence toward the introduction of the actual into the stereotyped manner of early Venetian art. Through Gentile the Marches affect the larger currents of Italian art. Both Jacopo Bellini and Antonio da Murano, the heads respectively of the two great rival schools of Venice, exhibit the teaching of these foreign masters; and Jacopo was Gentile's direct pupil.

Soon after, Gentile was at Brescia (1414-1419), where his work, now lost, was doubtless seen by the young Foppa, and may have influenced him, so that Gentile became a source of inspiration to all North Italy. He matriculated in Florence in 1422, and a year after we find him completing there his most celebrated work, *The Epiphany*. Two years later (1425) he was at Siena and Orvieto, where remains the only surviving example of his frescoes, a *Madonna* in the Duomo. He died only a little after (1427-1428), while he was painting the series of frescoes—most unfortunately lost—in the Church of the Lateran at Rome.

While Gentile's teacher may have been, according to tradition, Allegretto Nuzi, this giving him his Sienese bias, it is futile to

<sup>1</sup> See Colasanti; Venturi, monograph on G. da Fabriano, also in *Stor.*, VII, Pt. i. 188-203. See essay on him by F. J. Mather in *N. Y. Nation.*, LXXXIX, 1909, Aug., 167 ff. For Antonio da Fabriano see Vent., VII, Pt. i. 528-9.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Testi for rather full discussion. Wall-paintings in Duc. Pal., *Legend of Alexander III*, now disappeared, probably executed either before 1414 or soon after 1422. See Hill, *Pisanello*, 28 and 235 n. Hill argues for Pisanello's collaboration with Gentile from 1409-1414.

try to find Gentile in Allegretto. The half-Byzantine, half-Gothic character of Gentile's earliest work in itself almost proves the connection with the north—with Venice, or Guariento of Padua, or with the Sienese-Giottesque school of the Emilia, or he may owe it to the San Severini. At any rate, since Gentile travelled extensively and resided in both North and Central Italy, he would naturally have drawn upon many sources.

Gentile's wall-paintings are destroyed and his remaining panel pictures are few, yet the development of his style from its primitive archaism is so clear as to indicate almost perfectly the chronological order of the pictures, which are, for the most part, undated by documents.

The earliest painting is the dismembered *Polyptych* now in the Brera, which suggests a relationship to the Bolognese Giotteschi or to Guariento of Padua, rather than to Allegretto.

But Gentile's fame rests especially on one well-preserved picture, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Florence Academy), painted five years before his death, when he was an elderly man, for Palla Strozzi, for the Church of the Trinità in Florence. The main composition shows Gentile a fascinating story-teller and a perfect craftsman, but the romance is that of an *Arabian Night's* tale, external and unreal, all gold and glitter. In the small predella pieces, on the other hand, Gentile becomes a poet. They are masterpieces of their type. There is a union of Florentine naturalism, Sienese refinement, and Gentile's own highly original, if artificial, chiaroscuro. He owes this new spirit apparently to the influence of the classical simplicity of Agnolo Gaddi, and to the less gifted Lorenzo Monaco. Like Perugino and Raphael, Gentile had the genius of assimilation. On reaching Florence after his northern experiences, he evidently opened to receive impressions from the more reticent and subtle style.

How well he learned the Florentine lesson is shown in his latest work, the *Quaratesi Polyptych*, of which the central *Madonna* (Buckingham Palace)<sup>1</sup> marks perhaps the height of his powers. This noble type almost holds its own with Masolino, who was his only possible rival at the time, and it easily transcends the merely provincial or traditional.

But Gentile was in reality aloof from Florentine ideals. He was a transitional, and holds his relationships lightly. He is full

<sup>1</sup> Reprod. *Burl. Mag.*, VI, 471 ff.

of reminiscence and suggestion and promise, but without the consistency of a determined style. Though, on the whole, the tradition from which he emerges does not limit him as it does the greater Pisanello, and at times we almost forget his mannerism, as in the *Madonna* in the Museo Civico at Pisa, he never quite escapes, and his followers have only local interest.

## IV

The San Severini.—From Fabriano we turn to the school of San Severino, of which Lorenzo and Jacopo de' Salimbeni are the most important members.<sup>1</sup> Their style is very notable in its decorative ensemble, with a Gothic bias shown in peculiar conventions of draperies and naturalistic foliage.<sup>2</sup> How they received this influence is not clear. It may be due to northern trecentisti, as Barnaba of Modena. Our theory of their education is that the late Giottesque, Bolognese, and late Italo-Byzantine styles, illustrated by Lippo Dalmasio, infiltrated into the Marches, and there were met by the spirit of the region, and that some direct suggestion from the splendid north, from Milan or Verona, did the rest. That Gentile da Fabriano is formed to a large extent by Paduan-Venetian Byzantine influence is certain, but such inter-relations did not begin with him.

The style of the San Severini can be gauged by the wall-paintings at Urbino (Oratory of San Giovanni Battista), a *Crucifixion*, and other subjects. The *Crucifixion*, though exaggerated, shows real power. *John the Baptist* and the *Evangelist* are fine examples of the refined artificiality of the schools of the Marches, and exhibit some affinity with Gentile da Fabriano. Portrait groups also are freely introduced; but the series has little bearing on important art movements.

We may, however, see the influence of the San Severini on the belated Lambertini of Bologna,<sup>3</sup> and also on the isolated

<sup>1</sup> Another of the school, Pietro da Recanati, was first published by Perkins, see Vent., VII, 185, fig. 97. Lorenzo da San Severino II (act. late 15th c.) has no connection with these, but is a follower of Nic. da Foligno. See small *Betrothal of S. Catharine* (Corsini, Rome) by the later Lorenzo. See Colasanti on San Severini.

<sup>2</sup> This mannerism—naturalistic combined with late Gothic—characterises da Besozzo of Milan, Pisanello and da Zevio of Verona, the San Severini and G. da Fabriano in the Marches.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 82. See the *Crucifixion* in the predelle of *Allarpiece*, Venice.



Umbrian artist of some talent who painted the *Frescoes* in the choir of the Duomo of Atri.<sup>1</sup>

## V

**Boccatis.**—Another family, the Boccati, makes famous the little hill town of Camerino, which peacefully sits on its gentle eminence quite on the eastern edge of the Marches, and in sight of the sea. GIOVANNI BOCCATIS (active 1435 ?–1460 ?)<sup>2</sup> is known only by a few works, but these are typical of the rarest and purest Umbrian sentiment. His style is mannered, provincial, often homely, but it is fresh and winsome. His sense for beauty is mingled with a whimsical, half-archaic, half-naïve unconventionality. The *Three Archangels with Tobias* (Berlin), attributed to Giovanni, is one of the most original and beautiful works of the style; the types individual, the grouping unconventional, the drawing of the rarest sensitiveness.

GIROLAMO DI GIOVANNI BOCCATIS DA CAMERINO<sup>3</sup> (active 1450) is another of the group. He matriculated as an artist in Padua (middle of the 15th century), has left various works, and is one of the most beautiful of Umbrian painters.

Returning from these provincial schools of Central Italy to the schools of the north, we find Pisanello, the culminating master of the school of Verona, in close contact with the art of the Marches through Gentile da Fabriano, and exercising an influence upon the retarded Venetian art.

<sup>1</sup> (Attrib. by B. B. and Perkins to Andrea da Lecce. Later in date than the San Severini. Frescoes described and in part reprod. in Biadi's *Monuments of Art in the Abruzzi*.)

<sup>2</sup> Authorities disagree upon his early education, whether he was a pupil of the San Severini (B. B.), or influenced by the Florentines (C. & C.), or by the Siense Domenico di Bartolo (Vent.). There are possible influences from Bonfigli, Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli.

<sup>3</sup> See art. by B. B., *Rass. d'A.*, VII, 129 ff., and art. by R. Fry, *Monthly Rev.*, 1901, July, 86–97, on the beautiful Wernher *Annunciation*, which shows Venetian influence.

## PISANELLO<sup>1</sup>

c. 1385-1455

VITTORIO PISANO, called Pisanello, was born in or near Verona, and is first known in records as painting somewhere between 1409-1414 with Gentile da Fabriano in the Ducal Palace in Venice—work which has entirely disappeared.

In 1428 occurred the death of Gentile da Fabriano in Rome while painting in the Lateran, and in 1431 and 1432 there are records of Pisanello's work there, and of his travelling between Rome and Ferrara and his native Verona. Thus we find him while still young working at least in proximity with Gentile in Venice, and spending some time in Rome working in the same place as Gentile soon after the latter's death, and by inference possibly before.

In the prime of life he was painting for some years in Florence (between 1432 and 1438). And then for ten years, up to 1448 (years while Giovanni Bellini was growing up in Padua), he was travelling back and forth in the Emilia and Lombardy; sometimes in Mantua, sometimes in Ferrara, working at Milan and Pavia; making medals and portraits of the Este family and their connections the Gonzagas and Montefeltros.

In 1448 Pisanello went to Naples. In 1455 he was still living. In the next year he is mentioned as dead. Pisanello began with the transition from mediævalism—he ended touching the Renaissance.

Pisanello's greatest work was as a sculptor of medals.<sup>2</sup> But it was in painting that he received his large commissions, and it is as a painter that he signs himself.

Early in his career, when he was somewhere between twenty and thirty, Gentile da Fabriano, many years his senior and already well known, appeared on the scene. Gentile's style was not

<sup>1</sup> Consult C. & C., *N. It.*, I, Testi, Biadego, Venturi, Hill. Name apparently "Antonio," not Vittorio. Said to be born in Pisa and taken to Verona as a child.

<sup>2</sup> Examples in the Brit. Mus.; Bib. Nat., Paris; Berlin; Vienna, &c. Some in Italian Museums, and in private collections.

foreign to current North Italian taste, and it is not strange that his influence is marked in certain artists. Without being perfectly certain as to dates, we know that Gentile was commissioned (between 1409 and 1414) to paint in the Ducal Palace in Venice, and that Pisanello—either selected by the older man as his assistant, or summoned there independently at the same time or later (1409–1414)—painted in the same hall.<sup>1</sup>

During the 15th century Venice was the chief city of the world in splendour. Its riches and Eastern trade, its growing art, and the extension of its sovereignty on the mainland—to Padua and Verona in 1405, and nearly to Milan (Brescia and Bergamo) by 1428—led to its artistic dominance in North Italy after the middle of the century. But before that time its art was hardly abreast of its material prosperity. The most important commissions were given, as in this case, to artists from a distance, who played their part in the awakening of the Venetian school.

The influence of Gentile da Fabriano, which cannot be altogether separated from Pisanello's, affected the early Muranese painters (as Antonio Vivarini) and other transitional Venetians (as Giambono), and it is especially important in Gentile's pupil Jacopo Bellini.

Among the series of frescoes decorating the walls of the Great Hall of the Doge's Palace, Gentile painted the *Naval Battle*, and Pisanello the scene in which *Barbarossa's Son appears before his Father to Plead for Venice*. Nothing of these or the other frescoes except Guariento's remain, but from Pisanello's later frescoes we can imagine the splendour of description and episode which must have gone into such a subject.

Pisanello's existing paintings indicate Gentile's strong influence. But his art is more progressive than Gentile's, and is essentially independent. The earliest extant work is the fresco of *The Annunciation* (S. Fermo, Verona), after the work in Venice and before the Roman. Though divided in two by the Bronzini monument, it is perhaps Pisanello's most perfect painting, a combination of natural conception and formal grace. The aristocratic mien of the Virgin, the glorious sweep of the archangel's approach—the schematic drawing, indicate the master's relation to the Gothic school. It is distinguished from late Gothic only by its individual beauty and larger mastery. There exist several

<sup>1</sup> For discussion and dates see Hill, 28 and *n.*, 235, and elsewhere.

pictures of a little later date (1432-1438), among them Pisanello's most ambitious work, the fresco of *S. George, the Liberator of the Princess of Trebizond* (Verona).<sup>1</sup> The saint and his mounted squire with the rescued princess are grouped near two great chargers. Behind a screen of foliage a cavalcade of horsemen winds out from a Gothic city. A wooded declivity descends sharply to the sea. There are incidental bits—a greyhound, a barge in full sail, a gallows. The scene is descriptive and distinctly secular.<sup>2</sup> Here as before is the flat treatment of the pattern. Yet this is one of the earliest and best examples of a natural grouping in decoration, and the drawings for it, still preserved, are of amazing power.<sup>3</sup>

Pisanello, like Gentile, brings down to actual earth the fairy-land conceptions of mediæval miniatures. The *S. George*, in fact, is an illumination writ large; picturesque, charming, but without the sheer mental grasp of the Florentine tradition. During the same period (1435-1438) we have the *S. Eustace* (London), in which the unconverted saint, while hunting, sees the vision of the Cross. The picture is secular in feeling, a romantic conception of forest life, composed with minute detail in graphic pattern. (Compare the *Hunting Scene*, Oxford, painted a little later by Uccello.) About the same time came the fine profile of *Ginevra d'Este* (Louvre), drawn with sensitive precision against an exquisite background of pinks and columbines—a masterpiece of decorative design.

In 1441 Pisanello, in competition with Jacopo Bellini, painted the portrait of *Leonello d'Este*, which seems to have disappeared. But a vigorous panel portrait of *Leonello d'Este* by him exists at Bergamo (apparently painted between 1443-1448).<sup>4</sup> The stern profile of the Duke against a rich background of wild roses is intensely actual, and of superb decorative quality, free from descriptive detail. It is only by comparing with Masaccio's work of twenty years earlier that we feel it archaic and a little cold. Another picture of this time is the *Madonna and Child in a*

<sup>1</sup> Hill, 75 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brenderlam's exquisite picture at Dijon.

<sup>3</sup> See Hill.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps later and other than the one in competition with Jac. Bellini. See Hill, 138 ff. Cf. with the noble *three-quarter face of Leonello*, by Roger van der Weyden, reprod. frontispiece, *Burl. Mag.*, XVIII, 200, Jan. 1911. Fry there discusses the tendency of N. Italian, as well as Flemish, painting to reflect private rather than public life.

*Mandorla with SS. below* (London). This is less charming in composition than in detail. There are indeed two pictures in one. The landscape is like Lorenzo Monaco or the early Lippi, the cloud arrangement may be derived from Masolino and Lorenzo Monaco,<sup>1</sup> at any rate it is transitional; while the figures below—the severe S. Antony and the courtly S. George—are almost modern.

From this time on, Pisanello's recorded work is on medals. These are minute sculptures in low relief of unique beauty, comparable to Greek coins in skill. They form a series beginning with the portrait of John Palæologus made at Ferrara in 1438, and continuing in a succession of perfect examples down to within a few years of his death.

Both Pisanello's medals and his painting must be supplemented by his numerous drawings. These are of endless variety, including any kind of subject. Especially noteworthy are the studies for medals and portraits, as the *Profile of a Lady* in the Louvre, which is remarkable for characterisation and form.

Pisanello is limited because he never leads beyond the visible, and cares more for his units than for the whole. He left no visible impress upon the central movement of Italian art. He was not even necessary to Jacopo Bellini, whom he seems to affect, though his art is the starting-point for other northern schools, for Milanese work at Monza, and for Foppa of Brescia. He was certainly influenced by Altichieri and Avanzi, and as compared to the contemporary Masolino and Masaccio, his outlook is distinctly narrow. The older conventions were so beautiful, so adapted to decoration, that the modern science of Florence may have seemed to him, as to an old Chinese master, to make too great an artistic sacrifice. In summing him up it is well to remember the crisis of the moment in European art, the lingering of tradition, the stirring of awaking life.

Pisanello was fresh in spirit, and granting all limitations, he remains a great personal artist, and he is the greatest medallist in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> The symbolic clouds of Squarcione's school are more naturalistic; see Squarcione's *Madonna of the Lazzaro Family*, Berlin.

## PISANELLO FOLLOWERS

Of the Pisanello style, and having much of his charm, are the subordinate masters, Stefano da Zevio and Giovanni Badile.

**Da Zevio, 1393?-1451.**<sup>1</sup>—Stefano da Zevio is the most important master of the group and often very charming. More archaic and exotic than Pisanello, or even than Gentile da Fabriano, his Madonnas seem to carry on a trecento style like that of Lippo di Dalmasio and other minor provincial painters of the Marches and the Abruzzi,<sup>2</sup> while the artificial flower-strewn foregrounds and the scheme of flowing draperies seem Gothic-Burgundian or of the school of Cologne (see his delightful *Madonna of the Rose Garden*, Verona, and a *Madonna and Angels*, Colonna Gallery). He has something in common with early Milanese masters, as Campione or da Grassi, but we incline to think him a source in himself. In his details there is a fresh out-of-door quality, a vividness, an observation of animal life, which seem quite modern. (See the happily inventive *Adoration of the Magi*, Brera.) And compared with Jacopo del Fiore, Stefano is quite superior to the Venetian school of the time. **GIOVANNI BADILE** (active 1409-1448)<sup>3</sup> (not to be confused with the High Renaissance Antonio Badile) is quite *sui generis*, yet somewhat similar to da Zevio, as seen in the interesting altarpiece *Virgin and Child with Six Saints* (Verona), a curious, gracious, feeble work.<sup>4</sup>

With these are certain minor masters of Brescia, as **PAOLO OF BRESCIA**, already mentioned, and **MICHELINO MOLINARI DA BISOZZO** of Milan (active between 1394 and 1442), a feeble artist of about the quality of Giovanni Badile. He may be an offshoot of the Veronese school, and is interesting because of the rarity and curiosity of these transitional and half-Gothicised painters. We see him in a characteristic quaint Gothic-like *Virgin and Child* in Siena.<sup>5</sup> There are *Frescoes* at Monza perhaps of Pisanellesque derivation, curious but of little artistic value. The Gothic archi-

<sup>1</sup> See G. Frizzoni, *L'Arte*, IV, 1901, 221 ff., and Bierman's *Verona*, 100-1.

<sup>2</sup> See an unpublished *Madonna* in the possession of Mrs. Walter H. Crittenden, of Brooklyn, N.Y., as of this kind.

<sup>3</sup> See Biadego, *Verona*. Dates discussed by Testi.

<sup>4</sup> See reprod. in Testi, I, 347. See also *Madonna* (Veronese school), Metrop. Mus., N.Y., obviously his on internal evidence.

<sup>5</sup> Already mentioned, pp. 74-5. An example in Berlin is attrib. to him; others in Johnson Coll., Phila.

texture, the crowding, the embossed ornament, gives an effect similar to Burgundian tapestries.<sup>1</sup> By the middle of the 15th century the scene had shifted to Padua, the home of Mantegna, the great master through whom Paduan art became dominant.

Meanwhile Venice was not altogether unmindful of these movements. As the strength of the Byzantine tradition began to wane, there was room for other influences. The influence of Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano was slight on the old school of Venice itself, but it is evident in Murano, as will be seen.

<sup>1</sup> Attributed to the Zavattari, p. 75.





Fig. 37.



*Anderson.*

S. GEORGE FRESCO,  
Page 93.

PISANELLO.

S. Anastasia, Verona

Fig. 38.



*Anderson.*

THE TRIBUTE MONEY;  
Page 107.

MASACCIO

Carminie, Florence.



## GIOVANNI<sup>1</sup> AND ANTONIO OF MURANO

GIOVANNI, active 1443-1446; ANTONIO, active 1440-1464

THE island of Murano, practically a suburb of Venice, had developed a brilliant industry in all kinds of mosaic and other glass manufacture. Its palaces and churches were nearly as magnificent, its merchants as princely, as those of Venice itself, and by 1400 its painting became important.

The partners—Giovanni and Antonio da Murano—are the leading painters of the school. Later (1446) Giovanni drops out of sight, and Antonio takes into partnership his younger and more important brother, Bartolommeo, who by 1457 worked independently and assumed the name of Vivarini, but does not entirely break with tradition. The school never became really modern, and it ends with Alvise Vivarini, the nephew of Bartolommeo. From 1450-1500 the two schools of the Vivarini and the Bellini divide the art of Venice and finally mingle.

The Muranese school is not to be sharply distinguished from the transitional Venetian school. Yet the earliest painting signed by Antonio alone (apparently before the partnership with Giovanni)—an *Altarpiece* in the Cathedral, Parenzo—is a distinct advance over Jacobello and Giambono, and even suggests Bartolommeo Vivarini and Crivelli. Another, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Berlin), shows derivative motives of Pisanello and Gentile, but also a freshness, a vivid invention, a love of life for itself, which are Venetian, and which forecasts the mode of the later

<sup>1</sup> Of German origin, Johannes Almannus (Giov. d'Allmanna, or d'Alemagna) and Giovanni da Murano are now generally believed to be identical. Giov.'s name does not appear after 1446. Quiricio da Murano signs himself a pupil of Giovanni in an *Altarp.* (1462, Gall. Rovigo). For their relationship see Paoletti & Lud. in *Rep. f. Kunswissenschaft*, XXII, 427-43; for the Vivarini, *op. cit.*, 255-78. Antonio of Murano is mentioned in documents from 1446-1461, d. between 1478 and 1491. He is apparently not called Vivarini during his life. As the first head of the Murano school he was so called retroactively because his brother Bartolommeo assumed the name.

Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio. As with Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello and Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Giovanni da Milano, the charm is due to concrete detail combined with constructive design. But it is not simple enough for great art. Their masterpiece, *The Madonna Enthroned* (1446, Venice), though still mediæval, indicates fresh ideals which differ from the early Venetian Byzantine and from the more classic Byzantine of Siena. A local northern tone appears. Gothic elements mix with Oriental splendour. The serene graciousness of the Virgin, the natural action of the attendant angels, are touched with a descriptive note quite other than the typical and idealistic character of the Sienese pictures. In the Saints, Bartolommeo Vivarini and Crivelli are in the making.

We do not know to which of the two partners most credit is due for a marked advance in skill and force over the works of Lorenzo and Jacobello. Of the two, Giovanni seems the more narrowly decorative and Gothic craftsman in holding to the motives of Guariento and Jacobello. We conceive of Antonio, from the works of the school as well as his own, as a sound craftsman, a good teacher, and an even-tempered personality without initiative, but of genuine talent. According to signed and dated works, Antonio's partnership with Giovanni ended in 1446, and that with Bartolommeo extended from 1450-1459.<sup>1</sup> The stimulus of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello did not last into Antonio's later life, and his latest work (1464, Lateran Gallery) after his partnership with his brother, Bartolommeo, was ended, shows him mild and genial, but scarcely interesting.<sup>2</sup>

With these primitive Muranese the force of the mediæval survival exhausted itself in the north. The true spirit of the Early Renaissance was now to be encountered in its chief manifestation at Florence.

<sup>1</sup> As evidence of the partnership there are two examples—1. Altarpiece, *Coronation*, Osimo, Marches, on internal evidence mainly by Bartolommeo; 2. Altarpiece, *Madonna and Child*, 1450, Bologna, signed by both.

<sup>2</sup> The central raised figure of S. Antony is unusual, and may be a later addition. See Rushforth, *Crivelli*, 6 n.

## PART II

### THE EARLY RENAISSANCE IN FLORENCE AND CENTRAL ITALY

MASOLINO; MASACCIO THROUGH BOTTI-  
CELLI; PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA; SIGNO-  
RELLI; MELOZZO; FIORENZO DI LORENZO  
AND PERUGINO



# MASOLINO AND MASACCIO<sup>1</sup>

## I

### MASOLINO

1384-c. 1440

THE Florentine Gaddesque painters were, as a whole, stamped with a formal mould. Even Giovanni da Milano and others like him hardly transcend tradition. The true Renaissance began in Florence, as elsewhere, in a revolt from convention, and this movement centred in Masaccio and his master Masolino, who represent an entire change in aim. With Masaccio, as with many great painters, there is a difficulty in disentangling pupil from master. Authorities still differ as to where Masaccio's work begins and where that of his reputed master, Masolino, ends.<sup>2</sup>

Masolino was a painter of Florence, living in the late trecento and early quattrocento, and related to the Gaddi through his master Starnina,<sup>3</sup> who was a pupil of Antonio Veneziano. We have a traditional account of Masolino by Vasari, which, with other bits of evidence, gives a clue to his life as spent in various places, including North Italy, where he may have received northern influences, and Rome, and a stay of some length in Hungary. Vasari also affirms the intimate relationship between him and Masaccio. Important works are attributed to him at Castiglione d'Olona, in North Italy; in the Church of the Carmine (Brancacci Chapel), Florence; and in San Clemente,

<sup>1</sup> See Schmarsow, B. B., and Toesca, *Masolino da Panicale*. Vas. (*Masolino*) deficient. See Mil., *Stor. dell' Arte Tosc.*, 1873, 285 ff., and *Notes to Vasari*, for data of life. Also Richter in Bell's ed. of Vas. C. & C.'s criticism of Masaccio is important.

<sup>2</sup> Toesca, *Masolino, etc.*, follows B. B. and Richter in viewing Masolino's work as less overlaid by that of his pupil. C. & C. minimise Masolino's part.

<sup>3</sup> According to Vasari. A relationship not unlikely, see Mil., Vas., II, 264, n. 2. None of Starnina's works have been certainly identified, see p. 63 and n. 1.

Rome. And it seems probable, but not certain, that he died about the year 1440, at the age of fifty-seven.<sup>1</sup>

The Masolino-Masaccio problem divides itself into two parts; first, the question of attribution of the frescoes in Florence and in Rome, and, second, the order and dates of these and of the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona. The general opinion is that the work at Castiglione d'Olona is by Masolino and best represents him. His signature is there, and the style agrees with our conception of him. It is by far the most satisfactory place to study him. The San Clemente frescoes are much repainted, and in the Brancacci Chapel the question of attributions as between him and Masaccio is a delicate one. We believe that Masolino was assisted by Masaccio in Rome, in San Clemente, and that in the Carmine in Florence Masaccio had so large a share that the chapel becomes his monument rather than Masolino's. The general opinion on the chronology from internal evidence (though not a certain solution) is that San Clemente came early and was followed by the work in Florence, which Masolino left to go to Hungary, and that the work at Castiglione d'Olona (at least that in the Baptistery) came at a later date. We do not attempt to settle the exact time of the S. Clemente frescoes. Certainly the works given to Masolino in the Brancacci Chapel are superior to those in S. Clemente and indicate a later date. That Masolino may have emulated his able pupil is likely, as Verocchio was influenced by his pupil Leonardo, and Giovanni Bellini by Giorgione. But we are less concerned with these points than with the analysis of the works themselves. The two men are contrasted in temperament, and Masolino had a charm of his own, which Masaccio does not eclipse. There is a fresh outlook in Masolino. The mediæval manner lingers in his memory, but the attitude has changed, the impulse to found art on perception and knowledge rather than on intuition enters essentially into his painting, an impulse which determines one element in Masaccio's style, and affects the whole subsequent movement in Florence.

Yet compared to Masaccio, Masolino reveals a love of pure

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, VII, 184, ascribes to Masolino a fresco, San Fortunato, Todi. See *Frescoes*, Chapel of Annunz., Cori, near Rome, by unknown artist of Roman school, middle of 15th c.?, influenced perhaps by Masolino, but recalling Cavallini, Hermanin, *L'Arte*, IX, 45-52.

beauty rather than a desire to emphasize reality. He has classic largeness and aristocratic refinement, without Masaccio's robustness, and the grace of the Siense or of late Gaddesques, as Lorenzo Monaco, survives in the flowing curves of articulations and draperies. This is well illustrated in an important Gothic panel of the *Madonna and Child* (1423) by Masolino at Bremen, which retains the halos and an abstractness in pattern and generalised rhythm, while the heads, though idealised, are portrait-like, and the action and modelling are real.<sup>1</sup>

CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA FRESCOS.<sup>2</sup>—In discussing Masolino's works we begin with the undisputed frescoes in the collegiate church of Castiglione d'Olonza and in the Baptistery hard by. Masolino's signature<sup>3</sup> to the frescoes in the church is unquestioned, and establishes them as a standard for his style. The still more interesting frescoes in the Baptistery are his on internal evidence. In the Baptistery the side walls and the little space of the tiny chancel are covered with scenes from the *Life of John the Baptist* which are lively with interest. Two tendencies are at work: the old, in the laboured and stratified barrenness of the mountain, and the anachronous burial in the middle distance, in the *Feast of Herod*; in the traditional appearance of John preaching; the somewhat symbolic character of the wilderness; and in the uncertain anatomical construction. But, on the other hand, the perspective is serious in the retreating lines of loggia and arcade (*Feast of Herod*); and in the diminishing, winding river of the *Baptism*; and what dainty Renaissance feeling there is in the carved capitals and sculptured putti and wreaths; what distance in the landscape, what natural attitudes, and reality of form! Portraiture appears in the group of *Herod and his Attendants* seated at table, and in *Herodias and Salome*, attended by servants, in front of a long colonnade. The mountains behind are obviously local, and the drawing of figures and architecture is specific rather than typical. This naturalistic element in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. it with Jacopo Bellini.

<sup>2</sup> Province of Como, between Tradete and Varese. For relation to Cardinal Branda di Castiglione see Schmarsow, *op. cit.*; also for full description of frescoes, 270-3. The frescoes were covered with whitewash toward the end of the 18th c. The whitewash was removed in 1843 by the Abbate Malvezzi, Mil., Vas., II, 270. No doc. proof of the date of the frescoes, Mil., *op. cit.*, 272. Certain critics give their date as 1422 and 1423. See also C. & C., Murray ed., 1864, I, 499-509.

<sup>3</sup> "Masolinus de Florentia Pinsit."



Masolino is even better seen in the *Baptism of Christ* (lunette of the Baptistery), where its significance is the more evident for a too obvious insistence on details, as in the remarkable study of the nude figures on the bank. But there is a quality of design and a charm of feeling that carries these frescoes far beyond their realising of form.

What is very different from Masaccio, and what forms the characteristic charm of Masolino, is the delicacy of line, the suavity and yet vitality of composition, the tenderness in modelled form, as seen in the *Salome presenting the severed head to her mother*, where the gruesomeness of the subject is lost in the grace of composition and detail. If northern naturalism is here at work, so also is Sienese sense for abstract design, and these tendencies have been chastened by a Florentine classic feeling for form. A somewhat different grace that suggests Pisanello is seen in the *Madonna Crowned*, also by Masolino, in the Cathedral. The *Landscape with Architecture*,<sup>1</sup> in the Palazzo Castiglione, which is given to Masolino, whether it is an independent decoration or the background of a lost figure composition, admits an idealised conception of nature alien to Masaccio, who is content, as Masolino usually was, with Italian scenery as it actually is. We feel a memory of mediæval style in the effects of wildness, in the quite exaggerated perching of buildings on inaccessible heights.

**SAN CLEMENTE FRESCOES.**<sup>2</sup>—The frescoes in S. Clemente (Rome), probably earlier, as we have said, than those just described, introduce us to the gradual emergence of the new style. Some think that early efforts of Masaccio himself are here united with the work of his master. Unfortunately few passages remain free from complete repainting, and the colour and general effect can hardly be judged. Yet the compositions, as a rule, are not changed. In the portions that are probably earliest, as the *Annunciation*, the design is little modified from advanced trecento work. There is the delightful blending of mediæval sentiment with naturalistic inspiration which is typical of Masolino.

<sup>1</sup> Reprod. *Rass. d'A.*, IV, 75.

<sup>2</sup> According to Vas., II, 293 (S. Clemente), Cardinal Branda di Castiglione employed Masaccio here. C. & C. and Schmarsow think that all these frescoes are by Masaccio. For us Masaccio emerges in S. Clemente. Vas. attribs. them to Masaccio. C. & C.'s discussion of Masaccio's relation to Masolino is, we think, a convincing argument in favour of giving more to Masaccio than do several critics.

Toward the end of the series, however, there is bolder invention. *S. Catherine before the Philosophers* is more original and free. The grouping is unconstrained; the characterisation based on nature; the view through the window is delightful. The influence of Rome is perhaps seen in the obvious inspiration from antique portraiture. These noble heads are in the vein of Masaccio, and may well be by him;<sup>1</sup> the scene also where the girlish saint protests against idolatry is a fascinating prefigurement of Masaccio's art. The compositions are naïve and suggest Masolino, but we feel Masaccio's mind and hand at least in the details, and his style may here be forming. In *The Martyrdom of S. Catherine*, the action divides interest with the landscape, which, with others by Masaccio, is unmatched in Europe before Leonardo for breadth and grandeur of elemental feeling. It surpasses any known motives by Masolino, and perhaps is Masaccio's.<sup>2</sup>

The same openness and freedom, almost too unconcentrated, appears in the *Crucifixion*. Ruined as it is, the main lines of composition can be little changed, and exhibit a design far beyond any previous treatment of Calvary, in a landscape which is particularly like Masaccio. The variety of the figures, the profound observation in the left-hand group, the fore-shortening of the two thieves, the division of background from foreground by a concealed declivity, all contrasts with earlier conceptions.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in what is perhaps the most realistic of the series, *The Unknown Saint Speaking to the People*,<sup>4</sup> figures and grouping closely impinge on the compositions of the Brancacci Chapel; and one figure—that in mail standing firmly on the right—might be from one of Masaccio's compositions there.

<sup>1</sup> The passage with the row of faces is not destroyed by restoration.

<sup>2</sup> The landscape seems to us entirely beyond the capacity of the very clumsy restorers, and must therefore be original.

<sup>3</sup> Restoration almost complete. Details—as horseman on extreme right, fainting Virgin, etc.—almost everywhere modernised. Group of male figures in left foreground retains original types; they seem Masaccio's in severity and characterisation; if by Masolino they bring him very near Masaccio. The distant masses of hills and the sense of vastness cannot be due to repainting.

<sup>4</sup> For subjects, see Schmarsow and Wickhof.

## II

## MASACCIO

1401-1428

BRANCACCI CHAPEL FRESCOS.<sup>1</sup>—We are thus carried naturally along from San Clemente to the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine in Florence. This little chapel, belonging to the Brancacci family, is poorly lighted and ill-adapted to monumental works, but it is covered with frescoes of various sizes to fit into the high side walls, the awkward spaces about the single window, and into the narrow panels of the entrance. The tradition from Masaccio's time, recorded by Vasari, is that Masolino, after some previous painting in the Carmine, was commissioned with its decoration, and that on leaving it unfinished his accomplished pupil Masaccio continued the work.

The main problem in attribution here is to disengage the work of Masaccio from that of Masolino. The problem is further complicated by the fact that Filippino Lippi also worked in the chapel sixty years later, and completed what was left unfinished by Masaccio. The chief compositions now there are Masaccio's by common consent of tradition and of modern criticism. The probable explanation of any dispute as to attribution arising both here and in Rome, is the practice of the time which admitted a pupil to participate in the work of his master.<sup>2</sup> Masolino may well be credited with some of the designs, as *The Fall*, and may have begun the execution, as in *S. Peter Healing the Cripple and Tabitha*, where the figures of two young men in gay costume in the street are like Masolino in feeling and finish. As the older master and the originator of the first designs, he would be remembered equally with his more accomplished pupil, to whom most of the execution and the best designs are due. The hypothesis is that Masaccio "found himself" at Rome while

<sup>1</sup> Church of the Carmelite Monks. The frescoes darkened and damaged, not restored. For titles and distribution see p. 109. Albertini (Richter's *Notes to Vasari*, Bell, 1885) says that here the fresco-work "is half by the hand of Masolino," confirming Ghiberti and Vasari. Several ceiling frescoes in the chapel (possibly by Masolino?) have been destroyed. See Schmarsow; also Hutton (C. & C.). There is much difference of opinion as to authorship.

<sup>2</sup> For popular account of a Florentine workshop, see G. Baldwin Brown, *The Fine Arts*.

working under Masolino, and that on the removal of his master from Florence he would instinctively modify the original scheme of the Brancacci series to hold his thought. The question is where the younger artist's work joins that of the elder, very much as in the relation of the early Giotto to the preceding Roman work at Assisi.<sup>1</sup> The predominance of Masaccio over Masolino on this theory would naturally be gradual, would show itself often in details, as in the breadth of execution in the foliage of *The Fall* and the more generalised character of the *Tabitha* group, until these details overbalanced the design and became its essential feature. The *Raising of Tabitha*, one of the long side-wall pictures which is attributed to Masolino, may represent the exact point of meeting between the two artists—the completion and improvement of Masolino's original conception by the mature genius of the scholar. It is an achievement in the union of concrete vision with the elimination of unnecessary detail.

In his reticence, his grasp on the elemental structure of form and air and light, Masaccio is one of the supreme masters. In the group of *S. Peter Enthroned* (on the right in the large composition completed by Filippino), he reaches high-water mark in the mere beauty of painting. But the qualities of weight yet freedom, of reality and a dramatic grasp, are apparent in Masaccio's work throughout the series; in *The Apostle Healing*, which is not beautiful in composition, perhaps, but has a lovely glow upon the plain walls of Florentine dwellings; in the *Giving of Alms*; in the shivering nude of the *Baptism*; in the unhappy pair fleeing, self-condemned, from Paradise. The companion panel of *Adam and Eve in the Garden*, attributed to Masolino, though similar in types and handling, lacks the intensity and reality of this. In all their completeness these qualities are seen in the *Tribute Money*, which is generally taken as the full expression of Masaccio's genius. The intent group in the centre, the emphatic importance of the noble central figure, one with the group yet distinguished above it, the concentrated energy, restrained, yet immanent in every person, the simplicity of the drawing, Greek-like in its mastery, the imagination in the landscape—all mark the fullness of Masaccio's power. The landscape is based upon the mountain scenery near Florence. It is at once profoundly felt as nature, and as symbolic suggestion,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the relation of Leonardo's execution to Verocchio's design.

reaching a really high level of landscape expression, and forecasting Leonardo.<sup>1</sup>

The decorative value of these works is due largely to colour. It is a mistake to deny colour to the Florentines at their best, and Masaccio with great subtilty uses colour to reinforce the unity of composition. It is not salient or brilliantly ornamental, but it leaves an impression of depth and harmony quite as moving as that of any Italian work.

The known facts of Masaccio's life are few. He was born in 1401 (younger thus by eighteen years than Masolino) in Castello San Giovanni, in Florentine territory, and died in Rome somewhere about his twenty-eighth year (1428), some years before Masolino. His pupilship to Masolino rests on Vasari's testimony, and is accepted on grounds of style. He was admitted to the guild of painters when twenty-three years old (in 1424). His name ("clumsy, lumbering Tom") indicates him as careless of the delicacies of life, and Vasari describes him as struggling with debt. We do not know why he left the Brancacci Chapel unfinished, nor the circumstances surrounding his few scattered panel pictures, nor any other touches to fill out the picture.

For us, Masaccio and his work are one, for his quality reveals itself directly to the imagination.<sup>2</sup> While smaller men were busy with intricate genre details, Masaccio, inheriting Giotto's Greek conception of form, was establishing the principles of monumental design and significant expression which Giotto had brought back to Italy. The difficulty in appreciating Masaccio is rather that he is too sheer, than too archaic. His creations are as classic a model to-day as they were in the age in which, by what seems direct inspiration, they grew. No wonder that Florentine artists recognised at once in these mighty mural decorations the very soul of their endeavour—a quality that dominated the ideals of all the great Florentines to follow. Raphael, M. Angelo, and all the gifted men before them turned to his frescoes as they would go to school. They literally etched and copied in the Carmine; and many reminiscences of Masaccio's figures reappear in later works, as in the *Expulsion* by

<sup>1</sup> Attribution unquestioned. Drawings of the highest beauty for three figures of this composition exist. See Philpot's photographs (Strange Sculpture Galleries, Florence).

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Berenson's suggestive analysis, *Flor. Painters*.



Fig. 40.



S. PETER HEALING THE CRIPPLE.

MASOLINO (in part).

RESUSCITATION OF TABITHA.

Fig. 41.



CRUCIFIXION OF PETER.

FILIPPINO LIPPI.

SS. PETER AND PAUL BEFORE NERO.

Fig. 42.



SS. PETER AND PAUL AND KING'S SON.

MASACCIO (in part).

S. PETER ENTHRONED.

BRANCACCI CHAPEL, CARMINE, FLORENCE.

M. Angelo, and the one by Raphael, which were taken directly from Masaccio's *Expulsion*. Leonardo speaks in his literary notes of the decline of Florentine painting after Giotto, until Masaccio "showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard anyone but nature—the mistress of all masters—wear themselves in vain." <sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX B

FRESCOES OF THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL, CHURCH  
OF THE CARMINE, FLORENCE

ENTRANCE OF CHAPEL, L., above, *Expulsion*, by *Masaccio*; below, *Angel Leading Peter out of Prison*, by *Filippino Lippi*. R., above, *Fall*, by *Masolino*; below, *SS. Peter and Paul in Prison*, by *Filippino Lippi*.

CHAPEL. R. WALL, above, *St. Peter Healing the Cripple*, and *Resuscitation of Tabitha*, by *Masolino*; below, *SS. Peter and Paul before Nero*, and the *Crucifixion of S. Peter* (one fresco), by *Filippino Lippi*.

END WALL, R. of window, above, *S. Peter Baptizing*; below, *SS. Peter and John Giving Alms*, both by *Masaccio*. L. of window, above, *S. Peter Preaching*, by *Masolino*; below, *S. Peter Healing the Sick by His Shadow*, by *Masaccio*.

LEFT WALL, above, *The Tribute Money*, by *Masaccio*; below, *S. Peter Enthroned*, and the *Raising of the King's Son* by *SS. Peter and Paul* (fair preservation): Middle group, part of *S. Peter*, scene to the right, *S. Peter Enthroned in Prayer*, and the surrounding portrait types and part of group at left, all by *Masaccio*; the boy and eight men in a row, by *Filippino Lippi*.

<sup>1</sup> Alberti in his *Dedication of the Treatise on Painting* (see *L. B. Alberti, Kleinere Kunsthistorische Schriften*, ed. Janescheck, V, 46, 47), in 1436, mentions Masaccio with Brunelleschi, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, and Ghiberti; showing an opinion as to the real leaders of Florentine art exactly corresponding to modern critical opinion.



# I

## FRA ANGELICO<sup>1</sup>

1387-1455

ALMOST in a back eddy of the rising tide we find a contemporary of Masaccio, Fra Angelico.

Fra Giovanni da Fiesole (Fra Angelico, the "angelic friar") was early (1407) admitted into the Dominican order at S. Domenico, a hamlet at the foot of the hill leading to Fiesole, near Florence. For a few years he shared the troubles of his convent, whose inmates, siding with Gregory XII in his claims against Alexander V, were driven from their home and took refuge at Foligno, and then at Cortona.<sup>2</sup> Here at Cortona the young painter left some of the most precious evidences of his genius, but in 1418 the monks returned from their banishment, to S. Domenico. In 1436 they were established in the Convent of San Marco in Florence itself—a building made famous two generations later (1491-1498) by its great Prior, Savonarola. Here the already famous brother began to decorate halls and cells with devotional pictures. All that we know of Fra Angelico's character is charming—his sweetness of disposition, his devotion to the daily task, his unspoiled sense of his mission in painting. His life was that of the absorbed craftsman and mystic in one. His early training may have been that of a miniaturist—the exquisite character of his craftsmanship suggests it—and at some time Lorenzo Monaco, from internal evidence, may have taught him. His work was in demand far outside the limits of his convent, and toward the end of his life commissions drew him away from Florence. Before he was sixty he was called to Rome to decorate a chapel of the Pope in the Vatican,<sup>3</sup> and in

<sup>1</sup> See Douglas' *Fra Angelico*, Supino in *Th.-B. Lex.*, and recent book on him by F. Schottmüller.

<sup>2</sup> Florence and the General of the Dominicans sided with Alexander V.

<sup>3</sup> That for Pope Eugene IV (perished), and upon his death one for Nicholas V, now existing.

1447 he was not only working there, but also in a newly erected chapel in the Cathedral of Orvieto.<sup>1</sup> And in these later works he showed himself awake to the study of nature and form, to the new architecture, and scientific perspective of the time. He died in Rome in 1455, just three years after the birth of Leonardo da Vinci.

Fra Angelico represents more than any Florentine master the idealism of mediæval religious painting, as in the wonderfully imaginative Uffizi *Altarpiece* (1433) of his middle period, with its gold background and mediæval arrangements. At the same time Renaissance influence is seen even in his earliest known work (the Cortona *Predella*) in the naturalistic landscape, and it becomes quite prominent in his latest pictures, as the frescoes of the Nicholas V. Chapel in the Vatican. He is also very individual. Perhaps the most remarkable quality in his art is the degree to which the knowledge which characterises Masaccio and his other contemporaries is employed by Fra Angelico to express without dominating his vision; witness the garden of the *Annunciation* in S. Marco, and the flowers of paradise—true flowers growing in an unearthly world—and the solidity of bodies resting on nothing. The tendency indeed already exists in Florence, in Orcagna and Lorenzo Monaco and others, a tendency toward the abstract idealism of the Siense. But the personal genius of Fra Angelico marks him as the culmination. This is seen in the early work at Cortona, which only differs from the work of Lorenzo Monaco in the refinement of form, and in its wonderful repose and sweet solemnity, together with certain Renaissance forms which contrast with Lorenzo's persistently mediæval character. Its sense for naturalism proceeded, it would seem, directly out of the artist's human temperament as a young novice as much as from an adaptation to the taste of the age. The picture was never equalled by the artist again. Fra Angelico's maturer work indicates more complete subjection to the religious mood. In the great picture of 1433 (Uffizi), when he was forty-six, he reached an achievement of pure imagination. It is an amazing art, universal in appeal, whose value we moderns are likely to underestimate. Fra Angelico's imagery is often passionless

<sup>1</sup> Left unfinished by him. Two compartments of the apse of the Chapel (Capella Nuova) are by Fra Angelico.

enough. The S. Marco frescoes are almost commonplace. Even these, however, with all their repetition and asceticism, are a valid expression of beauty.

It is psychologically interesting that in his later frescoes, at Orvieto and especially in Rome, Fra Angelico emerges into a rather naturalistic manner, but the tendency is unnatural for the great idealist, and a weakening of his pure vision. It was to his credit that he recognised the Masaccio ideal, and that he could turn with such success from the abstractions of S. Marco to satisfy the new taste of his Roman patrons, but he was not a true convert. The apathy of the renunciation of his true gift is over his latest work. It is to Fra Filippo that we must turn as a pioneer of true realism.<sup>1</sup>

## II

### CASTAGNO. DOMENICO VENEZIANO UCCELLO

A little younger than Fra Angelico, but contemporary with him, are three followers of Masaccio who each contribute something to the incorporating of the great master's ideas into Florentine art—Castagno, Domenico Veneziano, and Paolo Uccello.

**Andrea del Castagno**,<sup>2</sup> 1396 ?–1457.—Castagno is a narrow and uncompromising realist, careless of external beauty, and with an impulse more academic than ideal. Yet he is intensely interested in character, and capable of profound sentiment entirely beyond mere naturalism. With high though uncultivated imagination, he searches, like Masaccio, for the general, going farther than Masaccio in the study of the figure in action. The little London *Calvary* has dignity and pathos, reinforced by the impressive landscape. But, unlike Masaccio, he is in general bound to the model. In the *Calvary* in Florence, although the conception is serious and noble, the treatment is unpleasantly

<sup>1</sup> Benozzo Gozzoli assisted him at Orvieto and Rome. See Vent., VII, 404. Also G. Pacchioni, *L'Arte*, XII, 1–14. This is a beautiful example of artistic collaboration, with the master's spirit dominant. If we miss imaginative tone, the beauty of landscape and some heads (as Emperor Decius) is a compensation. For documentation of assistants see *L'Arte*, XI, 81–95.

<sup>2</sup> For him see arts. with docs. by Herbert P. Horne, *Burl. Mag.*, VII, 66 ff.

Fig. 43.



*Alinari.*

ANNUNCIATION,  
Page 111.

FRA ANGELICO.

S. Domenico, Cortona.

Fig. 44



*Jacquetto.*

CALVARY,  
Page 112.

CASTAGNO.

Uffizi



S. LAWRENCE RECEIVING THE TREASURE OF THE CHURCH.

Page 111.

FRA ANGELICO.

Chapel of Nicholas V, Vatican, Rome.

literal, and the ideal religious mood is perhaps absent. His *Last Supper* seems vulgar as we think of Leonardo's great work, yet, unlike most others, it is a conception of the real scene, and imaginative of its significant and tragic meaning. Castagno is important especially in figure draughtsmanship. His single figures<sup>1</sup> have incisive point and appropriate character. And his influence is felt in the next generation in Antonio Pollajuolo and Botticelli.

**Domenico Veneziano** (c. 1400-1461),<sup>2</sup> from Venice, judging from his name, gives evidence of Masaccio's influence, and shows a certain technical advance. It is difficult to estimate his absolute worth from the few examples—scraps of fresco in London and Florence, some scattered panels, an *Altarpiece* in the Uffizi. Vasari declared that Domenico was famous for decorative works, and his style may be reflected in furniture decoration and salvers of the time, but unfortunately nothing of the sort can surely be given to him.<sup>3</sup> We can scarcely judge him from the *Enthroned Madonna* in London, which has something of the spirit of Masolino's panels at Naples, nor from the Uffizi *Altarpiece*. There truth is preferred to beauty in the four Saints, but the Madonna and Child are lovely in an unselect way, and there is a new phase of colour-tone, light and vibrant, suggesting plein-air effects, and relating him to Castagno.<sup>4</sup> Refinement and selection would make it a genial and beautiful style. The general arrangement, the accessories, the background motives, are later traceable in Baldovinetti, in Ghirlandaio, and in Verrocchio's scholars, including the young Leonardo. His chief importance, indeed, is as the master of others—of Baldovinetti, and still more as the master of the great Umbro-Florentine—Piero della Francesca.<sup>5</sup>

**Uccello**,<sup>6</sup> 1397-1475.—In Paolo Uccello there is another talent, whose primary inspiration is of perception and sensation, a talent which expended itself in design, in genre, and in scientific interest. In design Uccello had a distinct influence on the minor

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Sibyls, etc.*, Convent of S. Apollonia, Florence.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmarsow, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, 9-20, 81-97.

<sup>3</sup> See note to p. 114. In the *Triumph of Fame*, Bryan Coll., N.Y. Hist. Soc., there is perhaps a reflection of his style of this kind in the work of a not quite first-rate follower.

<sup>4</sup> Notice oil glazes over tempera.

<sup>5</sup> Domenico's atmospheric effects, exhibited in Baldovinetti's early work, are developed into notable mastery in P. d. Francesca.

<sup>6</sup> See Horne in *Burl. Mag.*

arts of the Early Renaissance, such as the decoration with descriptive subjects of wedding chests and other furniture. Such pictures give vivid glimpses of the time, and often have unusual subjects, and show free and fresh descriptive fancy. Some examples may be derived from fourteenth-century secular art now lost, some are related to the Masolino-Masaccio school or to Pesellino.<sup>1</sup> Their painters are generally unknown industrial craftsmen with fine taste and often charming colour. Uccello's sense of design is a sense for the selection of flat shapes and the fitting of them together to present an agreeable pattern, and for the relation of spots of colour and a decorative colour-tone in the whole, and this in subjects that would seem to demand a different treatment—as battles and tournaments and historical scenes—the drawing being sometimes naturalistic and often forced, as served the painter's turn. Movements are frozen, as it were, and the effect is odd and awkward, yet the convention is all the more piquant because it seems unintended. Its value is felt by so great an artist as Piero della Francesca, who seems to owe to Uccello a certain rigidity of form admirably adapted for decoration. Uccello is really a creative designer in these aspects, as is seen, for instance, in the big lines of spears and other weapons, the broad foliage and formal landscape of the early *Battlepiece* of the Uffizi, and in the very quaint but charming *Rout of S. Romano* in London, also early. This last is perhaps the most successful in this vein, where the deep colour tones and the treatment of sky give rather a splendid effect. In general Uccello's skies are original in their emphasis of a subdued colour and elimination of light, which helps his decorative values. The scientific experiments in perspective and foreshortening, seen especially in the same earlier periods, are not always so successful.<sup>2</sup> His interest is keen in literal delineation of the near and present, as in individual portraits—those in the Louvre are very strong and fine—and in minute attention to details of dress and armour, a genre feeling for which there is no immediate prototype. His later work becomes

<sup>1</sup> See *Ricasoli-Adimari Nuptials*, Florence Acad. For discussion of subject with description of specimens in America see arts. by F. J. Mather, junr., and Wm. Rankin, *Burl. Mag.*, IX, 288, 291; X, 67, 205, 332; XI, 131, 338; XII, 63; XIII, 381. Sellaio (*Burl. Mag.*, X, 205) and "Alunno di Domenico" (see p. 138) illustrate Uccello's influence in decorative panels. For secular decorative trecento painting in Florentine palaces, see *L'Arte*, XIII, 310, 311.

<sup>2</sup> See the damaged frescoes, *Deluge, etc.*, S. M. Novella, Florence.

less mannered, as the Cassone picture of a *Night Hunting Scene* at Oxford, which, though far more successfully naturalistic than earlier examples, is still agreeably decorative. The later pictures of the *Story of the Jew and the Host* (Urbino) are free from the early mannerism, and are more beautiful if less pungent.

Finally we must note his almost entirely secular tone, which was immediately influential upon popular taste, and held the germs of modern illustration and satire. Even the Old Testament series, in the cloisters of S. M. Novella, has no religious significance.

### III

While the main development of Florentine painting thus proceeded in the path opened by Masaccio, another strain of commonplace art continued to thrive with a certain class.

Neri de Bicci<sup>1</sup> (of whose work there is record from 1453-1475) belonged to the Bicci family already mentioned as perpetuating mediæval ideals in the trecento. He is a prolific painter of distinct historical importance as the logical successor to the earlier trecento movement and as indicating certain conditions which continued side by side with the progressive school for a generation later than Masaccio. He was a sound, but uninspired, craftsman. His altarpieces, scattered through the churches and galleries of Florence, show an unmistakable personality and purely popular and commonplace aims. Yet his tempera colour is charming, and the impression he leaves is pleasant. Within his almost absurdly narrow range he indicates the lower level of artisanship and taste among the people when uncontrolled by Masaccio's profound conception. The particular tendency disappeared in the Renaissance.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 70.



## OTHER FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENTINES

### I

**Baldovinetti**,<sup>1</sup> 1425-1499.—Alesso Baldovinetti, a pupil of Domenico Veneziano, and perhaps an assistant of Fra Angelico, is distinctly of the transition. Sometimes he is surprisingly archaic, as in the awkward but fascinating *Trinity* of the Florence Academy. Sometimes he is almost modern, as in the fresco of the *Nativity* in the SS. Annunziata. In the same painting he is both mediæval and naturalistic. His chief quality is a cheerful, personal temperament, limited by a want of variety and ease, and without high emotion. In some early work he shows atmospheric lightness of tone that Domenico had taught him;<sup>2</sup> and if later he loses this and becomes dull, there is always the un-failing charm of the artist's obvious delight in his craft, his faithful and delicate execution, his agreeable suggestion and, in spite of a certain want of largeness of style, something of the vitality which we find in his great pupil Verrocchio. The

<sup>1</sup> See Horne, *Burl. Mag.* Cf. Baldovinetti's *Adoring Madonna*, Uffizi, with Domenico's *Madonna Enthroned*, Uffizi. For technique see p. 113 and n. 4, 5.

A good deal of Baldovinetti's work is well authenticated. Much has been added by the researches of archivists like Mr. Herbert Horne, and the connoisseurship of experts like Mr. Berenson. For the master's intimate style, study *The Virgin Adoring the Infant Jesus*, Louvre, attrib. to P. d. Francesca; *Portrait of a Lady*, London, attrib. to Uccello by Morelli, Richter, *Ital. Art in the Nat. Gall.*, p. 17, and B. B., *Lists*; to Baldovinetti by Fry, in whose opinion we concur. Three exquisite panels, 1448, Florentine Acad.—*Marriage of Cana*, *Baptism* (prototype of Verrocchio's *Baptism*), and *Transfiguration* (see B. B., *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, II, 29)—belong to a series, the rest of which are from Fra Angelico's atelier, attrib. unquestioned by modern experts, painted when Baldovinetti was twenty-one, and when he was perhaps working as an assistant to Fra Angelico, very beautiful as painting, but not in Fra Angelico's style, unless in delicacy and finish. The large scale of his more important works, especially late, seems to induce a dry method of execution and some hardness of drawing.

<sup>2</sup> See this quality in three panels, Flor. Acad. (above note). Cf. with Uffizi *Allarpiece* by Dom. Veneziano.

Fig. 46.



ROUT OF S. ROMANO.  
Page 114.

PAOLO UCCELLO.

London.



*Anderson.*

NAIVITY.  
Page 119, n. 2.

FILIPPO LIPPI.

Accademia, Florence.

Fig. 48.



*Brogi.*

FEAST OF HEROD.  
Page 120.

FILIPPO LIPPI.

Prato.

*Annunciation* (Uffizi) and the *Adoring Madonna* (Louvre) suggest the compositional scheme of Verrocchio's atelier, which comprises, among other things, the architectural screen, and landscape with middle distance, and a sense for textures in marbles, although the *Annunciation* of S. Miniato, besides something of the static quality of Uccello, has a dignity and charm quite personal to Baldovinetti. Yet after all Baldovinetti is mainly significant for us as the master of Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio, and other men. It is in fact as a sort of undeveloped Verrocchio, though more gracious, that Baldovinetti makes his final appeal.

## II

### THE POLLAJUOLI<sup>1</sup>

ANTONIO, 1429-1498; PIERO, 1443-1496

The brothers Antonio and Piero Pollajuolo are so closely connected in their work—Piero being Antonio's constant assistant—that the two can be separated only in a few works. But Antonio, senior by some fourteen years, is the important artist.

**Antonio.**—As the pupil of Paolo Uccello, and also of the great naturalistic sculptor, Donatello, Antonio, himself a goldsmith and sculptor, shows the further expression of that enthusiastic searching<sup>1</sup> for the intimacies of anatomy and form which belonged to Uccello and his generation, and like them he still adhered to a certain immobility of action and composition. Castagno's influence may be seen by comparing his Berlin *Assumption* with Antonio's *Magdalen* at Staggia. Antonio's authentic works consist of a few panels, a little sculpture, some engravings. And in these we find a special phase of form rather than an interpretation of wide, human thought or feeling. The art is narrowed to perception and analysis of the immediate model. His work is executed with a goldsmith's sense for detail and fineness of handling, rather than with breadth of vision. He is at his best in drawings direct from nature, inspired by the mainsprings of bodily movement, and in engravings, where the severity of the process of incising on the metal plate gives an assured sense of finish, as in the famous print of the *Ten Nudes*

<sup>1</sup> Monograph, *Antonio Pollajuolo*, by Maud Cruttwell.

(Uffizi), which is tensely drawn, and in its treatment of grouping and background, even shows a classic feeling for line and pattern. It might have suggested such works as Botticelli's *Primavera*, though it lacks their ideal and idyllic quality. This splendidly virile and dramatic draughtsmanship is found sometimes in Pollajuolo's paintings, as in the two *Hercules Subjects* in the Uffizi, where everything is subordinated to the action *per se*. The landscape is a miniature-like adaptation of Baldovinetti, freely rendered and quite charming, but no part of the general effect. And there are quite wonderful *Dancing Figures* by Antonio in the Torre di Gallo, Florence, which are *sui generis*. Less pleasing, because more academic, are the larger and more complicated designs, as the *S. Sebastian* (London), which is distinctly scientific rather than imaginative.<sup>1</sup> A more poetical work is the little *Apollo and Daphne* in London, interesting for its antique theme, but leaving us cold. It cannot compete with second-rate work of the same sort, as Piero di Cosimo's, and from Botticelli—even from Signorelli—it is worlds away.

Yet with these limitations Antonio Pollajuolo's genius was real, and his influence was of the highest importance, wholesome and bracing. He was the first Florentine to study human anatomy systematically in a modern sense. His drawings, as studies, are perfect for their purpose, a model series.<sup>2</sup> Yet Signorelli's drawing of a *Young Man* (Louvre), as against Antonio's single figures, has a suggestive element, as a symbol of the movement and spring of all youth, which the others lack. But in sculpture Antonio's best works express some single action with remarkable truth and energy,<sup>3</sup> and his influence appears in broader men—in Botticelli and Signorelli, Piero di Cosimo, and in all probability in Verrochio and Leonardo.

**Piero.**—A brief mention will suffice for Piero Pollajuolo, the younger brother, who was laborious and uninspired, not fertile in invention, and without nervous energy in drawing. In his signed work, *Coronation of the Virgin*, at S. Gemignano, his inertia and his dependence upon Antonio are obvious. He is of no independent importance, a well-trained foreman in a dominant school.

<sup>1</sup> The execution and the landscape is probably by Piero.

<sup>2</sup> His engravings and drawings were doubtless passed around among artists.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Hercules and Antaus*, Uffizi.

## III

FILIPPO LIPPI<sup>1</sup>

c. 1406-1469

The last three men we have discussed were born quite out of Masaccio's generation, and they matured while the effects of his manner were being dissipated. We turn now to a painter who died some thirty years before them, but whose work, though at first archaic, passed quite beyond the transitional painters and emerged into an Early Renaissance naturalism.

Fra Filippo di Tommaso Lippi was educated in the convent of the Carmine, under the shadow of Masaccio's work and fame. His first teacher, however, was Lorenzo Monaco, among the last of the Giotteschi, and Lippi's early works are reminiscent of the mediæval training, in their dreamy outlook upon nature, their quaint suggestion of darkling woods and romantic country.<sup>2</sup> They are not far removed from the fragile symbolism of the better Gaddesque painters. Notwithstanding this, even in early work he is classic in his sense for general unities, broad in drawing, and true in his observation of form. His strong appeal comes with the work of his mature years, when his contemporary feeling gave new significance to the mediæval form. But this real Lippi, enthusiastic and poetic, full of life and sweetness, is still far from mere naturalism. He enriches with detail and architecture, without losing the Giottesque directness in composition. He produces a free interaction of the actors, while

<sup>1</sup> Most recent monograph is by H. Mendlesohn and very important. See also C. & C. Weisbach and Horne are important recent authorities. Lippi was born in Florence c. 1406, d. 1469. Early lost his parents. Brought up (from 1412) by the Carmelite community at the Carmine of Florence, where he finally took the vows. In 1430 his name first appears as a painter. In 1432 he seems to have left the monastery. Most powerful patron was Cosimo di Medici, and probably through him he was appointed in 1452 chaplain to a convent of nuns in Florence. In 1456 he began frescoes at the Pieve (now Cathedral) of Prato. Afterwards he began the frescoes at Spoleto (Cathedral choir), completed after his death by his pupil and assistant, Fra Diamante. Vasari relates that Fra Filippo, while employed at Prato, abducted a nun named Lucrezia Buti, whose child is known as Filippino Lippi.

<sup>2</sup> See *Nativity*, Flor. Acad. Fra Angelico's influence appears in the tondo, *Ador. of the Magi*, Sir F. Cook, which in turn influences Lippi's followers (p. 121, n. 1). Cf. also profile of Archangel in *Annunciation*, Prince Doria.

retaining the old formal dignity. Fairyland is imaged in terms of real life, but it is still fairyland.<sup>1</sup> The qualities of this middle period are summed up in the well-known *Coronation* (1441) of the Florence Academy. The old groups of angels and saints have become companionable. There is the hum of movement and action and even portraiture.<sup>2</sup> Yet the description is of no earthly assembly. The saints are as saintly as Lippi's rather secular mind can admit. He has here united the Mediæval Christian and Renaissance Pagan, and he is serene and lyrical. The supreme beauty and rapture of Fra Angelico is lacking—that is not of Lippi's nature. He was bringing a new naturalism into the old themes. His Madonnas in general are naturalistic and winning, reflecting the better popular temperament of Florentine life.

The large wall-paintings at Prato, the *Life of John the Baptist and of S. Stephen*, painted from 1452 to 1464, are especially interesting as his most important monumental works, and because of the conscious following of Masaccio in form. Yet the descriptive or dramatic motives are alien to his instincts. The composition tends to fly apart. Pupils also intervene (Botticelli seems to have been one of them, as in the *Salome in the Feast of Herod*), and we find ourselves examining details rather than ensembles, though these details are interesting and original. The frescoes at Spoleto, at the end of his life, prove the same point. The *Magnificat*, a formal group, he manages with splendid unity, but the other subjects are rather nerveless, and were much left to assistants. For successful composition he needed set limits.

There is little poignancy or pathos in Lippi. He is a man of the world in love with external things, and gifted with a sense for beauty. His single figures illustrate his subtle feeling for form and movement, a feeling not original, but inherited from Lorenzo Monaco.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in composition Lippi makes no essential modification. What seems original in form is implicit in Masaccio. His art must be left in the category of a secondary

<sup>1</sup> See the idyllic *Nativity*, Berlin, which illustrates a group of works of early maturity. Note the charming free *School Copy*, S. Apollonia, Florence. See *Annunciation*, Florence, S. Lorenzo, and *Annunciation*, Munich, and many others.

<sup>2</sup> See the homely but powerful head of the artist with inscription.

<sup>3</sup> See *Madonna and S. Antony* and *Archangel Gabriel and the Baptist*, Florence Academy.

perfection. One of his chief virtues was in teaching the greatest talents among his following: for instance, by setting a model for both Botticelli's and Leonardo's compositions,<sup>1</sup> and in becoming the link between Botticelli and the mediæval tradition. How inspiring a teacher he was is shown also in the richness of the minor works of his school, and in the influence he seems to have exerted in Umbria,<sup>2</sup> and in the discipline of Pesellino.

## IV

## PESELLINO

1422-1457

AND OTHER FOLLOWERS OF LIPPI<sup>3</sup>

Pesellino is a delightful personality, trained in the Lippi manner, who has left various decorative panels and small Madonna pictures, but no large wall-paintings. His decorative art, though celebrated by Vasari, is less spontaneous and inventive than earlier works of the kind, as those by Uccello and his school.<sup>4</sup> It is the little Madonna pictures which bring out his rare originality. Pesellino's quality is the translation of Masaccio's spirit into the more exquisite expression of Lippi, Botticelli, and the idealistic school. He is a harmoniser of extreme tendencies. His breadth, as in drapery and gesture,<sup>5</sup> and the quiet colour tone, which are near to Lippi, give an effect of classic study, together

<sup>1</sup> Lippi's *Adoration*, Sir F. Cook, is the model for their and others' treatment of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> As on the Boccati and Bonfigli.

<sup>3</sup> W. Weisbach, *Pesellino*, is the authority on Pesellino. The unknown Giuliano Pesello, of whom there are documentary notices, is a transitional to Pesellino. His work is not identified. Weisbach identifies him with the master of the *Carrand Triptych*, Bargello, Florence, a mannered yet interesting secondary master whom Weisbach considers the teacher of Baldovinetti. The style may be of Pesello's time, but seems later. There is no question of the group of works cited by Weisbach being by one hand. The *Madonna with Saints and Angels*, Johnson Coll., Phila., is in this milieu, but not by Pesello. See art. by W. Rankin, *Internat. Studio*, 1909.

Pesellino has an unknown scholar, painter of *Madonna Enthroned*, Dresden, and the *Trinity*, London.

<sup>4</sup> See Pesellino's two cassone panels, the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, Boston, and *Story of David*, Wantage, and by his school, Morgan Coll., Cassone.

<sup>5</sup> See especially *Drawings*, Uffizi, for *Fredelle* in Florence Acad. and the Louvre.



with some of the gaiety of Masolino and Fra Angelico. Pesellino's works are original in personal feeling rather than in style.<sup>1</sup> He seems always thinking of some bolder master. He is very receptive of Masaccio, then of Fra Angelico, and in mature work of Lippi. Yet in spite of this derivative character, he is individual, and often he rises to the highest distinction of beauty.<sup>2</sup> His particular temperament found scope in descriptive subjects, as predella stories of saints. These have ease, simplicity, generalisation, and a sense for style which is a survival of the trecento and goes back to Giotto.

Other followers of Lippi amply repay study, as ZENOBIO MACCHIAVELLI (1418-1479), a refined master of dependent character; FRA DIAMANTE (second half of fifteenth century), less clearly distinguished from the atelier average, but whose frescoes may be seen below the Lippi in the Spoleto Cathedral; and DOMENICO MICHELINO<sup>3</sup> (to be distinguished from the earlier Michelino da Besozzo of Milan). An obscure eclectic painter of many Madonnas with rose-hedge backgrounds, who evidently began in Lippi's school, has been identified by Mr. Berenson with a certain PIER FRANCESCO FIORENTINO, who signs works at S. Gemignano and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> ANDREA DI GIUSTO<sup>5</sup> and many unknown masters indicate Lippi's stimulating teaching, which, after sound training, left pupils free to follow their own temperaments.

This is shown in the eclectic JACOPO DEL SELLAIO (1441-1442-1493),<sup>6</sup> who illustrates the character of minor painting in the generation following Lippi, its fresh outlook and invention, even when intellectually slight. Some of Sellaio's work shows Uccello's

<sup>1</sup> Works conjecturally given an early date by Weisbach and Fry are more independent in style than the authenticated works.

<sup>2</sup> As the *Annunciation*, Sir Hubert Parry, Gloucester, and *Madonna*, Dorchester House, London.

<sup>3</sup> See *Portrait of Dante with Views of Florence*, and *Scene from the Divine Comedy* (1465), by Michelino in the Duomo, Florence. See C. & C., Dent, I, 224-5; II, 364; for relation to Baldovinetti, 488.

<sup>4</sup> This identification is denied by Perkins, Fry, Douglas, and others. C. & C. confused P. F. F. with Graffione. Horne, *Burl. Mag.*, VIII, 55, 189-96, has identified pictures by Graffione as later in period and style.

<sup>5</sup> For A. di Giusto see Weisbach.

<sup>6</sup> Not to be confused with Leonardo da Vinci's pupil, Salai. For him see Horne, *Burl. Mag.*, XIII, 210; and F. M. Mather, Jr., *Burl. Mag.*, X, 205. See cassone-piece *Cupid and Psyche*, Boston (called Filippino), ascribed to Sellaio by Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*

design, some Botticelli's. A jaunty *David* in Philadelphia suggests a motive of Donatello's and Verrocchio's. Sellaio's work also shows designs adapted to industrial painting, and the rich landscape detail, and almost Flemish descriptive character of a late *Nativity* in Philadelphia is in the direction of Piero di Cosimo.

## V

BENOZZO GOZZOLI<sup>1</sup>

1420-1497

Benozzo Gozzoli, during his life of nearly eighty years, saw the complete change from the lingering mediæval to the High Renaissance. Taught by the last Giotteschi, and assistant at one time to Fra Angelico,<sup>2</sup> he is one of the gayest and most charming of the secondary spirits of the Early Renaissance. His talent is for decoration and genre combined, and his art, though limited in range, shows a most interesting development from early to late. He is prolific in both panel pictures and frescoes, which lead us in a succession of ever enlarging efforts to Montalfalco, S. Gemignano, Pisa, Florence, and many other towns. Sometimes lively and slight, sometimes urbane, sometimes serious, he is never profound, but always interesting.

He has three large series of frescoes, beginning with that decorating the convent of S. Francesco at Montalfalco—a work of early manhood (1450 and 1452), simple and almost Giottesque, but yet original and inventive in spirit. After this came the famous and more characteristic decorations of the Riccardi Palace in Florence, commissioned by Lorenzo di Medici (finished 1459). The walls of the little chapel are covered by an *Adoration of the Magi*, and the attendant brilliant throngs of retainers and angels. The chapel was originally artificially lighted, and every means of bright colour and picturesque detail is used to furnish the little place with a cheerful if somewhat worldly decoration. It is dainty, descriptive, rhythmic, humorous, magnificent.<sup>3</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> Authorities C. & C. and B. B. Early education not known; possibly pupil of Giuliano Pesello and of the Bicci, B. B., *Lists*.

<sup>2</sup> For Fra Angelico's influence see *Polyptych*, 1450, Lateran; and exquisite early examples as the *Madonna and SS.*, Vienna. See in these early works a hint of Lor. Monaco and Lippo Lippi.

<sup>3</sup> A window has since been cut and the room somewhat altered.

whole, however, his later work, the *Old Testament Series* in the Campo Santo, Pisa (1468-1484), is Gozzoli's chief legacy. The series is full of obvious faults. It is crowded, panoramic, inaccurate in drawing, lacking in monumental design. Yet it is both splendidly decorative (as seen in the sense for pattern and the pale colour) and true to nature, as in the affectionate delineation of actual scenery in the fantastic landscape. Every chief hill-town in Tuscany contributes to the series some picturesque feature, as the rain-washed volcanic hills of Etruscan Volterra—a symbol of all wild scenery. There is charm of detail and genial human feeling, and the final subject of the *Queen of Sheba Visiting King Solomon* includes a wonderful group of citizens of Pisa (his presumable patrons), a priceless image of contemporary life. Gozzoli does not represent the deeper artistic mind. But he is truly sincere, and his achievement is on no common level.

## VERROCCHIO AND HIS FOLLOWERS

### I

#### VERROCCHIO<sup>1</sup>

1435-1488

Andrea del Verrocchio, a pupil of Donatello and perhaps also of Baldovinetti,<sup>2</sup> is one of the most important artists of the Early Renaissance. Trained as a goldsmith, and achieving his greatest renown as a sculptor, he became celebrated as a teacher of painters, and his personality is recognised as of the highest importance to painting. The characteristic features of his thought and style are agreed upon with substantial unanimity, yet there is but one painting, *The Baptism*, which is certainly from his design, and none which he surely painted.

Verrocchio's sculpture, based upon Donatello, represents the most complete development in Florence before Leonardo and

<sup>1</sup> Mackowsky, Cruttwell, and Bode on Verrocchio, *Pr. Jahrb.*, 1882, 235 seq. There is abundant doc. (notes of commissions and payments) and other evidence (drawings, school works, etc.) for his pictorial activities, in design at least. A doc. (quoted by Cruttwell, pp. 254, 255) proves his payment for the altarpiece of the Pistoia Duomo, etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> See evidence of Verrocchio's drawings; and see *Baptism* which is related in form to Baldovinetti's small *Baptism*, Florence Acad.

Michelangelo.<sup>1</sup> And the few priceless drawings show like powers. Similar qualities obtain in the paintings of the school—the exquisite workmanship, the care in drawing, the somewhat formal composition, the figures a little static, garment folds a little elaborated and linear, the love of polished surfaces, as an enamel-like texture of flesh, and separate hairs shining like the finest, shimmering gold wire. And these characteristics are found in the one painting universally given to him in design and given to him by some in the execution as well—*The Baptism* in the Belle Arti Florence.<sup>2</sup> It is probably not later than the early seventies. The composition is remotely mediæval and Giottesque, but more important is the figure draughtsmanship. The central group is constrained, unbeautiful, yet nervous and robust. The influence here is of Donatello and Antonio Pollajuolo, or others of the group. Verrocchio's master, Baldovinetti, has no such searching anatomy. It is not the work of an entirely practised painter, but more that of a bronze worker, in its feeling for a strenuously accented line. The figures are not modelled into the background, and there is little pictorial feeling for textures, pattern, and atmosphere. One of the angels on the left is ascribed by tradition to Leonardo, and seems like him. There are crude passages in the background, as the middle-distance on the right—the rocks and pines and the palm—which are either unfinished or by an inferior apprentice. But its most remarkable feature is the idyllic yet real distance of a river country ending in mountains. This is unique, for the time, in its plastic tone and in its unity in complexity. It is perhaps by the young Leonardo, and certainly it belongs to Leonardo's epoch-making landscape style.<sup>3</sup> The famous *Annunciation* of the Uffizi some consider to be of Verrocchio's school, if not by the master himself. It is of prime importance especially for the landscape background, which is a development of the style of the back-

<sup>1</sup> Most famous examples of sculpture are: 1. *Tomb of Cosimo de' Medici* (bronze), 1472, S. Lorenzo, Florence; 2. *David* (bronze), 1476, Bargello, Florence; 3. Group, *Christ and S. Thomas* (bronze), Or S. Michele, Outside, Florence (1483); 4. *Equestrian Statue of Bartolommeo Colleone* (bronze), Venice, fin. after his death by Alessandro Leopardi. See also *Madonna*, Uffizi, and the portrait bust of a *Lady*, Bargello, Florence, and studies and smaller works in Paris, Berlin, and elsewhere (see Cruttwell).

<sup>2</sup> See also under Leonardo da Vinci for this picture.

<sup>3</sup> So Bode (III, 657) thinks. The colour tone of the picture is a golden glow.

ground of *The Baptism* and like Leonardo, under whom it is discussed.<sup>1</sup>

Verrocchio, though not primarily a painter himself, and without the supreme sense for beauty, fused the various impulses at work in Florence, and by his sincerity and force created one of the most stimulating schools of painting in Italy.

The great pupil formed by Verrocchio was Leonardo da Vinci. But among the many that he taught, two others stand out—Lorenzo di Credi and Botticini.

*Note.*—Important works have been left by a few unknown pupils of Verrocchio, as: 1. *Madonna and SS.* (Foresi altarpiece), Buda-Pesth, ascribed by Vasari to Verrocchio, and several other pictures by the same master; 2. By another pupil, a series of works, fine in colour, surpassing Botticini and di Credi (*see* ruddy textures in accessories). Other examples of the school are: 3. *Madonna with Two Angels*, London (its design and superintendence given to Verrocchio by B. B.); and 4. A charming *Nativity*, Ruskin Mus., Sheffield—a good atelier work, attributed by Ruskin to Verrocchio, and interesting from the careful Renaissance treatment of the setting.

We know the Verrocchiesque style, but Verrocchio's own is in question. The safest method is first to analyse the style as a whole, and afterwards to distinguish Verrocchio's. The foundation for this has been laid by Bode. Note several distinct groups of pictures: 1. A group of Madonna pictures (first noted by Bode) related to Verrocchio's accepted work, sculpture and drawings, and the *Baptism*, and admitted as by Verrocchio or of his school, but weaker than Verrocchio usually is: these are varied in character, and are now usually attributed to several weaker scholars; for description *see* Bode. 2. A group of pictures (*see* under L. da Vinci), attributed to the young Leonardo by Bode, to Verrocchio by B.B., and other pictures variously disputed between the two. 3. Di Credi's work, from its close imitation, has an important bearing on his master's design. 4. Works of Umbrian painters in which Verrocchio's direct influence is seen by common consent of critics. Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, perhaps Perugino, and the Umbro-Roman Antoniazzo (through Fiorenzo), are the painters. Uttili da Faenza, in the Romagna, is also influenced. 5. Numerous other works attributed by Bode to Verrocchio, but not so given by most critics.

All these works indicate Verrocchio's method of leaving the assistant much to his own devices.

## II

Lorenzo di Credi (1456–1537) was Verrocchio's favourite pupil,<sup>2</sup> a winning personality with the narrowest mental attitude, who perfected the craft of the school and narrowed it to an almost mechanical finish; his faithfulness became a fault.

<sup>1</sup> In our opinion it is a little later than the *Baptism*.

<sup>2</sup> Verrocchio, in his will, directed that the completion of the Colleone statue should be entrusted to di Credi. For analysis of di Credi, *see* Fry in *Bull. Metrop. Mus.*, IV, 187.

He repeated his composition again and again ; he does not respond to the infinite variety of nature. He neglects his landscape, and lacks perception for textures, and contrasts with the spaciousness of mind of his great fellow-pupil, Leonardo. Yet with his studied design and enamel-like surfaces, he also has pure line and brilliant colour, contemplative feeling, and sometimes grace. In some early works—as the *Nativity* at Carlsruhe—the design reflects Verrocchio's virility ; and the *Virgin enthroned with SS.* (Pistoia), upon Verrocchio's design, represents di Credi at his best in execution and landscape.<sup>1</sup> In a few small pictures, of which the *Annunciation* (Uffizi) is the best, the technique becomes beautiful ; and there is even some real inspiration. The *Madonna with the Infant S. John* (Borghese) is fine, because the unimportance of the inflated figures concentrates attention upon the virtue of design in itself. Rhythm of pattern and spacing, the relation to the round frame, the essential elements of all design of the classic tradition are found here. A few secular subjects, as the interesting but unimaginative *Venus* of the Uffizi, and certain *Portraits*,<sup>2</sup> mainly in private and out-of-the-way collections, complete his work.

Verrocchio's other pupil of the two mentioned is Francesco Botticini.

**Botticini, 1446-1498.**<sup>3</sup>—The value of traditional standards in minor masters is clearly shown in Francesco di Giovanni, called Botticini. Beginning in an archaic constraint which expands under the influence of Verrocchio and Botticelli, reverting to a dry manner in unambitious or provincial work, as at Empoli, he shows in certain pictures an originality and charm which explain the confusion between him and greater men.<sup>4</sup> Defective or

<sup>1</sup> Di Credi's assistance is recognised by most critics. Morelli assigns it to Verrocchio. Its inferiority to those works in which Leonardo's assistance is suspected argues for Leonardo's presence in the others.

<sup>2</sup> *Young Woman*, Berlin, and *Lady*, Forli, without great force, have charm.

<sup>3</sup> Rehabilitated by modern criticism. First distinguished by C. & C., IV, 296-7. Monograph by E. Kühnel, Strassburg, 1906. Most attributions to Botticini are on stylistic evidence alone.

<sup>4</sup> See *Crucifixion and SS.*, E., 1475, Berlin ; *Madonna in the Garden*, Pitti, influence of Botticelli, recalls Andrea della Robbia, usually called a Filippino ; *Archangels and Tobias*, Florence Acad., long ascribed to Botticelli, by Bode to Verrocchio, based upon Piero Pollajuolo ? ; *Palmieri Altarpiece*, London, ascribed by Vasari to Botticelli, landscape notable. Bode in his masterly pioneer analysis of Verrocchio's school, *Pr. Jahrb.*, 1882, supposed several of this group to be by Verrocchio.

derivative in composition, he yet is refined in execution and has an exceptional sense for landscape and cool colour—a colour quiet, low-toned, with a green-grey harmony that recalls Lippi, yet is distinctive. He is always himself, but is one of those men who only come out under the right inspiration. The *Palmieri Altarpiece* (London) is a masterpiece in its archaic way. The *Three Archangels and Tobias* (Florence) is very lovely and important in its landscape by having an atmospheric texture, a sensuous mood that brings it out of the mere naturalistic rank, and goes far beyond the naturalism of Piero Pollajuolo. The little Pitti tondo, *Madonna in the Garden*, is dry, yet it is a very characteristic and sensitive bit of Florence.<sup>1</sup>

Botticini makes secondary genius winning.

## BOTTICELLI AND HIS FOLLOWERS

### I

#### BOTTICELLI (ALESSANDRO FILIPEPI)<sup>2</sup>

1444-1510

From this Verrocchiesque school we now return to the more conservative tradition at the point where the death of Filippo Lippi (1463) left it, with the unexpected apparition of Lippi's greatest pupil, Sandro Botticelli, who had entered Lippi's studio when the master was well into middle life and was absorbed in the new problems of Renaissance painting. Pollajuolo was the exponent of the narrower side of Renaissance culture in Florence, its cults of science and of the senses; Botticelli added the intellectual and spiritual refinement. He was the creative genius of the conservative school, living late enough to experience the Renaissance spirit. He has left a large array of works now scattered in many places, and though he used freely the services of assistants, the main examples of his works are fortunately beyond dispute. These include votive altarpieces, which are intensely severe in spirit, though relieved by warm feeling, as the *Madonna with Saints* in Berlin, with its setting of decorative foliage; there are also smaller Madonna panels and tondos, and

<sup>1</sup> The votive pictures show portrait feeling in donors, etc., as in *S. Monica and Nuns*, Florence; *S. Jerome and Other SS.*, London.

<sup>2</sup> Chief authority is Horne.

Fig. 49.



*Alinari.*

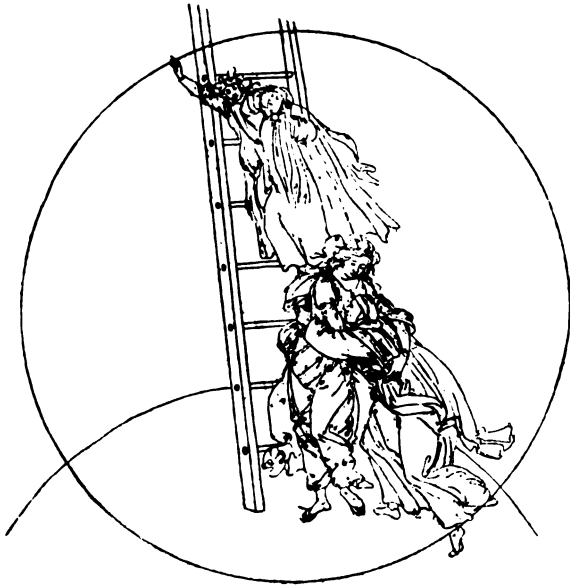
PRIMAVERA.  
Page 130.

**BOTTICELLI.**

Accademia, Florence.



Fig. 50.



THE SCIENCE OF LOVE.  
Page 133.

BOTTICELLI.

Berlin.

some portraits, mythological pictures, decorative cassone-pieces, a few frescoes, and many drawings.

The following periods may be distinguished: 1. The period of Lippi's influence (before 1470);<sup>1</sup> 2. The period of academic discipline, mainly under the influence of Antonio Pollajuolo,<sup>2</sup> from 1470 to 1481-1482; 3. The period of his humanistic Leonardesque style, beginning with 1481-1482, when he went to Rome to paint in the Sistine Chapel,<sup>3</sup> and when Leonardo, then executing his *Adoration of the Magi*, began to influence him.<sup>4</sup> This influence is seen in freer action and more expressive treatment of landscape. The period ended in 1497-1498, with the burning of the *Vanities* and death of Savonarola, to whose following the artist belonged; 4. His late style, from 1498 to his death in 1510, when his activity seems confined to a few mythological and historical pictures.

In early work he is so close to Lippi in figure-drawing that it is hard to tell the artists apart. A little later he learned from Castagno and Pollajuolo a more precise draughtsmanship, to the point necessary for the characterisation of figures and movements, and then at a later period went back to an intuitional type of line and anatomy which is Lippesque. His colour, though interesting, never seems to be a natural gift, as we think of the early Baldovinetti. Botticelli unites the radical and the conservative tendencies in a way which gives him an unique historical place. His form can be derived through Lippi, Lorenzo Monaco, Angelo Gaddi, and Giotto from the symbolic art of the Middle Ages. At the same time, unlike Lippi, he belongs intellectually and æsthetically to the full Renaissance. His classical quality is doubtless due in part to the fashion of the time which called attention to antique sculpture, and led to antique themes and the introduction of bits of classic detail. But, far outweighing these influences, his classical sense is partly an inheritance of a continuous tradition, and is in part due to the generalising habit of mind belonging to all great periods. In reality there is little

<sup>1</sup> Lippi left Prato 1468.

<sup>2</sup> Pollajuolo's influence seems plain in composition, yet not in detail. See tondo of *Nativity*, London. See art. by F. J. Mather, Jr., *Atlantic Monthly*, CIV, 400.

<sup>3</sup> See the contract of October 27, 1481, in *Arch. Storia dell'Arte*, VI, 128 (1893), and Steinman, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, Muenchen, 1901, I, 633.

<sup>4</sup> As seen in S. Augustine (1480), Ognisanti.

direct classical inspiration in Botticelli—the sense is instinctive and its unconsciousness adds a charm.

**FORTEZZA.**—Botticelli's earliest monumental work is the *Fortezza* (1470), a single figure painted at the end of his first period. This is one of a series of figures representing abstract virtues which decorated the Mercantaria. Most of these were painted by Piero Pollajuolo, and illustrate how difficult such didactic painting is. Botticelli contrives to escape failure by imagining, as Ruskin says, the reserve force in the impersonation. The youthful *Fortitude* filling its niche is an exalted, though mundane type, painted in Lippi's generalised form. But the young artist needed for his discipline a subject more concrete than a type, and he found it in the two early pictures of the *Adoration of the Magi* in London. These are still immature and the execution is uneven: in the tondo, for example, the general composition and long proportions and the mannerism of the bent-back hands follow Lippi.<sup>1</sup> Still it is in this decade, 1470–1480, that Botticelli's individuality becomes salient.

**ADORATION OF THE MAGI.**—The first work essentially free from the Lippesque manner is the *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi) containing portraits of the Medici. The central religious group counts for little—is indeed perhaps left to an apprentice. The Madonna is Lippesque. The rest is in the dominant, realistic spirit, indicating some influence from Castagno and Pollajuolo, and is mature in style. For the first time since Masaccio the weight and dignity of a group representing actual life is fully rendered in Florentine art. The artist presents true portrait genre. Every head and body counts. Yet he is not to the manner born. His bent as the creator of a strange spirit is evident even here.

**PRIMAVERA.**—Still further does this bent appear in the famous *Primavera*, painted probably for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici<sup>2</sup> about 1475? (about the date of the Verrocchio-Leonardo *Annunciation*, Uffizi). This shows a mature, humanistic style, indicating theoretical knowledge and some of the realistic study of the Uffizi *Adoration*, but it is essentially original in spirit. The *Primavera* is a pure pictorial idyll. Before such a song of the spring, the more epic art of Giotto

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lippi tondo of same subject, Sir F. Cook, Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> According to Horne, *Botticelli*, 50. Horne's date is 1478.

or Masaccio seems prose. Against a background of tree-stems, Venus and the Graces with symbolic figures—the months, the lingering breath of winter, and the Zephyrs of spring—are disposed in ethereal motion. It is an exquisite design of lines and spaces, formed by branches, sky, flowers, diaphanous garments, and tender, unearthly colour. The idealised images are abstract as in Greek and Byzantine art, but admit a naturalistic basis. The leaves and flowers are unconventional, the wind in the March and April passages is whistling through real pines. But the design controls the naturalism. This is the chief lesson of the picture. The thought is dominant over the objective material. Even the movement is reduced to typical rhythms. The origin of the kind of subject is found in mediæval or Early Renaissance masques or in religious allegories. The immediate source of the composition seems to be in Antonio Pollajuolo's engraving of the *Ten Nudes*,<sup>1</sup> with a classical suggestion for the group of the three Graces, a group which is also found in Raphael, Cossa, and others. But Pollajuolo's influence, if here, can only be in the general composition which Botticelli transfigures. Form sensitively adjusted to the suggestion is the life of beauty, and this removes Botticelli's art from such limitations as Pollajuolo's. The Venus has no immediate dependence on the model. The face is schematic, of a pear-like shape, with idealised expression, and eyes of bold irregularity. The pointed chin and dimple, the lips, the slight hollowness of cheek as if with a touch of an ascetic ideal—all this is general, yet the individual model is in the background, and we may often see the type to-day. The other figures are pure abstractions of the most imaginative sort.

**BIRTH OF VENUS.**—Even more original than the *Primavera*, if less generous in detail, is the *Birth of Venus* (Uffizi, painted probably about 1485–1488),<sup>2</sup> which reveals the purest idyllic spirit of Florentine humanism. Venus, poised upon a floating shell, is wafted by a zephyr to the shore. Behind her stretches the sunny sea and sky of elusive, greenish, opalescent colours. Nature is here dematerialised, and thought and feeling seem brought to life without tangible means. We are close to perfect beauty. With supreme grace Botticelli escapes from his earthly

<sup>1</sup> See F. J. Mather, Jr., *Atlantic Monthly*, CIV, 398.

<sup>2</sup> Home's conjecture.

model, into a region beyond anything the external world can offer.

**SISTINE CHAPEL.**—On Botticelli's going to Rome—the beginning of the third period—the direct influence of Pollajuolo vanished, and Leonardo's took its place. In 1481 the contract was given for the three frescoes, *Scenes from the Life of Moses*, in the Sistine Chapel, and the work was begun soon after.<sup>1</sup> These are variegated panoramas rather than monumental decoration, but are full of exquisite groups and fine portraiture, as the daughters of Jethro gathered about the well, and the portrait-heads behind Moses in the *Punishment of Korah*. There is more expressive treatment of landscape, due to Leonardo's influence, an influence which is also seen in the big dramatic rhythms. Nevertheless they are examples of *tour de force* done in emulation of a type of art alien to Botticelli's imagination. In all the central works—in the several variations of the *Adoration of the Magi*, in the ascetic *S. Agostino*, in the severe *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the nonchalant *Annunciation* of the Florentine Academy, in the *Frescoes* of the Sistine Chapel—the infinite curiosity of the Renaissance are reflected in Botticelli's intent intellect. He is like a mediæval spirit born out of due time, and anxious to be of the later age, but only succeeding in being the more aloof from it.

Botticelli's late style (1498–1510) may be conveniently dated with the *Nativity* of 1501 (London), painted during “the woes of Florence,” two years after the martyrdom of Savonarola. In this deeply emotional work, to which the master added a pathetic inscription in Greek lamenting the evil days fallen upon his city, there is some sadness of personal mood, but the virile air, the blitheness, the infallible sense for beauty, relieve the poignancy. He never allowed a mood to control his art. In these last years, when he removed himself from the world, as it were, his art became that of the recluse, and peculiar, even eccentric. He studied antique thought and story, and in the mythological and historical works of the period of which the *Calumny* (Uffizi) is the most famous, reverts to a generalised vision entirely aloof from realistic aims. It is sometimes mannered, but at its best reveals new beauties. These works are often decorative, as in the two panels with *Scenes from the*

<sup>1</sup> Vasari says he had the direction of the whole decoration in the chapel.

*Life of St. Zenobius* (London), which shows powers of handling and a sense for colour in advance even of his most ambitious work of earlier days. There is hardly a counterpart in Italian art history for such an aloofness of spirit as he shows in this last period.

DANTE DRAWINGS.—Late in life Botticelli found in the study of Dante a personal solution of the problems which had engaged his early manhood. There are no more portraits or academic compositions; he throws science to the winds, and gives rein to a peculiar imagination. We can understand his dying poor, as we can understand his enrolment among the followers of Savonarola, when we examine his series of drawings for the *Divine Comedy* (Berlin), a series done for love, with no regard for popular demands, a long task completed with no sign of tiring on the road. In the troubles of Florence, which he could not cure, Botticelli consoled his patriotic heart with Dante's art, kindred to his own, and offered the tribute of illustration. In these hundreds of outline drawings the same motives are repeated over and over again with invariable energy. The artist never tires, and his art accumulates interest. They are intellectualised and spiritualised presentations. The line sings, as it were, now in a tense springing, now in lyric-like spontaneity, now in rich, flowing measures, ever one, yet ever changing, with modulating accents and intervals like a fine poem, suggesting life, yet disembodied and free, like early Japanese painting. In some strange way the forms are visible ideas, flying sprites of the mind, peopling a world of dreams. But we must see the image with the inner eye to see it at all. Nothing he tells us is obvious, all is inevitably rare and fine.

One hesitates to speak of failings or even limitations in Botticelli's work. In spite of his vigorous drawing—as in the several essays of the *Adoration of the Magi*—and his splendid portraiture, he belongs essentially to the conservative Lippesque school. He does not work out plastic motives, and is without development of tone as compared with Leonardo. He was indifferent to landscape, as Leonardo complained.<sup>1</sup> He often repeats the same model, and he treats single features, like the hands, in a schematic fashion, and is indifferent to literal exactness in drawing. He is more fluent than dynamic. And the colour of most of his pictures is without high distinction.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by E. Solmi, *Leonardo*, p. 10.

Yet these things count as nothing before his essential genius. The image launches from his mind to ours. Botticelli discovers worlds of an imagined existence with just enough of reality to carry the thought and emotion. He emancipates our vision. He subordinates nature to the thought about nature. And he was happy doing it, nervously alive, trenchant and tender at once. His is a unique career, and of all the great Italian careers the most difficult perhaps for us to understand.<sup>1</sup>

## II

Like all the most personal styles, Botticelli's had an abundant homage of rather feeble imitation. It is hardly safe to accept any work as Botticelli's which is not endorsed by universal opinion. His influence is marked on various eclectics, as Jacopo del Sellaio<sup>2</sup> and Botticini; but his only pupil of real talent was Filippino Lippi, who entirely lacks the nervous energy of the master. "Amico di Sandro"<sup>3</sup> in a few portraits almost rivals him, but there is something wanting.

**Filippino, 1457-1504.**—Filippino Lippi, reputed son of Filippo Lippi, is more allied to the culmination of the romantic school of Florentine painting in Piero di Cosimo, Del Sarto, and Fra Bartolommeo than to its earlier phase. His early work executed in Florence shows the restraint of the earlier school. But he was always facile and rather eclectic: Lippi's influence is seen in the Badia altarpiece; a monumental Masaccio-like feeling appears in the Carmine frescoes; Botticelli's types and drapery and feeling for line are generally present.

Of the early works the *Vision of St. Bernard* (Badia, Florence, 1480) is perhaps his masterpiece, and is a perfect representation of his essential temper: his sense for refinement in form, for gracious human sentiment, for idyllic nature; his conscientious technique and agreeable colour.<sup>4</sup> Four years after this, in 1484, the commission to complete Masaccio's *Branacci Chapel*

<sup>1</sup> "Aria virile, optima ragione, integra proportione" = characterisation of Botticelli's art in a report to Ludovico il Moro by the Milanese Ambassador at Florence. See Horne.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pr. Jahrb.*, XX (1889), 194 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Rehabilitated as an artistic personality by Mr. Berenson, *Study and Criticism*, I, 44-69.

<sup>4</sup> A lovely drawing for an *Angel* is in the Uffizi.

*Frescoes*<sup>1</sup> was given him. Perhaps no one less responsive to environment could have produced work so harmonious with Masaccio's ensemble. The portraits are of real dignity, the landscape has charm and the compositions are fresh and dramatic: what is missed is Masaccio's simplicity and weight; what is added is a personal grace and a more modern sense for portraiture. Among Filippino's rarest works, presumably early, are several small pictures of odd subjects: as the *Centaur* in Christ Church, Oxford, a cave with baby centaurs and the mother, and a remarkable landscape effect. Here is a source for the romanticism of Piero di Cosimo. Another work of this kind is the *Allegory* (unexplained) in the Pitti Gallery, Florence.

In 1489, when he was thirty-two years old, Filippino visited Rome and succumbed to its overwhelming influences.<sup>2</sup> The frescoes in S. Maria Minerva, show him as emulating the work about him. His limitations here are not in the general composition, but in intrinsic imagination. The group of angels in the *Assumption* forms a striking design of almost Late Renaissance breadth and ease. There is seriousness, but also a grandiose pagan splendour. This is the beginning of his late style, with its overcrowding, its scattered effect, and lavish pseudo-antique motives. In its final phase after his return to Florence it is sometimes almost degenerate. After Filippino's return from Rome came the *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), painted for S. Donato degli Scopetani in place of Leonardo's unfinished picture,<sup>3</sup> whose elaboration it emulates. The effect as a whole, romantic though it is, is without force or high emotional tone as compared to Leonardo's inspired conception. Two years before his death the *Frescoes* in S. Maria Novella were finished. They are on a much lower level than anything before, but in spite of their want of monumental dignity, they are full of verve and a certain kind of decorative effect.

Several early portraits,<sup>4</sup> the numerous altarpieces in Florence, and some elsewhere, small votive and other pictures, all belonging

<sup>1</sup> Carmine, Florence. For the indication of the portions painted by each, see p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Venturi believes that Filippino worked in the Sistine Chapel. An early source, pub. by Muller-Walde, *Pr. Jahrb.*, XVIII, 165, says he did not.

<sup>3</sup> P. 216.

<sup>4</sup> See two in fresco, Uffizi.



to his mature period, either before or after Rome, complete the story of a prolific and attractive career.

The beauty of his feeling in landscape at all periods must be noted. This charm is illustrated by the *S. Jerome* in the Florence Academy, a late work with its fine silhouette of a tavern, with its flowers and trees and its lively foreground working out Leonardo's effect; and also by the notable *Altarpiece* in London, with its wild animal life, as the bear. Yet with much that is refined, Filippino's drawing tends to a certain inertia, and his colour and tone to a specious generalisation. So popular an artist was sure nevertheless to have a following. He even had an influence upon Signorelli, and he gave suggestions to Piero di Cosimo.

## GHIRLANDAIO<sup>1</sup> AND HIS FOLLOWERS

### I

Domenico Ghirlandaio, 1449-1494, led a more sober movement, and holds a place beside Verrocchio as the head of an important training school in Florence. He had distinct capacity for composing freely on a large scale, and the scenes with which he decorated the walls of Florentine churches were vivid with the portraits and habits of his patrons. Of a secular, somewhat uninspired temper, he was a perfect craftsman, a fit master of many pupils. He appropriated Giotto's composition,<sup>2</sup> and is related to the Masaccio tradition; but he is a humanistic Florentine, the popular artist of the day, and crowded with big commissions. His art as a whole is able and companionable, in portraiture really great—but without the reach which would place him with the greatest. He remains a high talent in the second rank.

The chief examples of his early style are the two frescoes of the *Life of S. Fina* in S. Gemignano, where there is a special freshness and charm which later we miss.<sup>3</sup> In the fresco in the Sistine Chapel, *The Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew*, the master, at

<sup>1</sup> Pupil of Baldovinetti, influenced by Verrocchio. See essay on Ghirlandaio, *Nation*, LXXXVII, 167-70, Aug. 20, 1908, by F. J. Mather, Jr. Monograph by E. Steinmann, Leipzig, reliable.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his *Death or Burial of S. Francis*, S. Trinità, Florence, with Giotto's in S. Croce.

<sup>3</sup> Vent., VII, Pt. i. 717, sees here the influence of Gozzoli. Possibly that also of Baldovinetti appears in the angular feeling in drawing.

the height of his career and competing with other artists, reveals his mediocre mind. It is serious and able, but without an imaginative spark for such a theme. The *S. Trinità Frescoes* in Florence, his most monumental works, are large in intention, with true comprehension of the style of Giotto and Masaccio. Yet here also a grasp of the ideal is wanting. The *Choir of S. M. Novella* illustrates his merely professional vein. It is splendid as a decorative ensemble, full of various and attractive detail, including protraiture, but is cold and nerveless. The work of assistants is everywhere, and it is therefore less important than the Trinità series.

Of the altarpieces, the most characteristic is the *Presepio* (Florence Academy), a type of technical achievement, lovely in detail and trivial in thought. More poetic is the tondo, *Madonna and SS.* (Uffizi), with its simpler composition. Most of the altarpieces embroider the design to excess. The elaborate *Adoration of the Magi* (Innocenti) is effective and brilliant but hardly restful or beautiful. It illustrates clearly the Master's conception cleverly adapted to the work of assistants.<sup>1</sup> The *Cenacolo* (Ognissanti) is entirely satisfactory in technique and entirely empty of inspiration.

Ghirlandaio is at his best in the *Old Man and Boy* of the Louvre, where he shows really vital imagination. It is perfect as craft, superb in design, drawing, and colour, has true insight into character, and is of universal interest. His other portraits are less interesting. But the debated "*Perugino*" (?) of the Uffizi<sup>2</sup> is an acknowledged masterpiece, of great historic value, and if by him raises the credit of the master.

## II

**Mainardi, c. 1450-1513.**—Bastiano Mainardi, a native of S. Gemignano, was Ghirlandaio's brother-in-law and closest pupil. He may be seen in his native place and elsewhere in numerous works.<sup>3</sup> Though rather weak, he is skilful in technique, and

<sup>1</sup> Mainardi, probably, in the figures, and "Alunno di Domenico" in the lively background.

<sup>2</sup> "*Perugino*"? by Ghirlandaio? rather than a "*Portrait of Verrocchio*" by di Credi, which is B. B.'s attribution.

<sup>3</sup> Study his *S. Peter Martyr between SS. James and Peter*, Uffizi (authenticated), and the portraits: 1. *Young Woman*; 2. *Young Man*; 3. *Cardinal*

his peculiar colour (tending to cool, purplish tones) has some distinction. A more original pupil is Bartolommeo di Giovanni, "ALUNNO DI DOMENICO,"<sup>1</sup> a distinctly industrial artist who illustrates the development of minor decorative art since Uccello. He also shows the influence of Botticelli, as in the *Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, in Paris,<sup>2</sup> which has good portraiture, but is especially valuable for its superb decorative scheme, with its big screen of trees and lively action and narrative. There are many secondary followers of Ghirlandaio, such as Francesco Granacci, Bugiardini, and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, but all these men illustrate the working of many influences, and will be considered with the minor men of the High Renaissance.<sup>3</sup>

Rosselli, 1439-1507.—In the same milieu as Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli was probably a pupil of Neri di Bicci, and, like him, below the level of his age. The influence of Baldovinetti and Gozzoli<sup>4</sup> may also be found, and doubtless that of others of the time. He chronicles average local life, but while he is suave and rather pleasing, he is always a little archaic, and belongs to the conservatives,<sup>5</sup> though he is influenced by the current secular motives, as appears in the important *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), once ascribed to Pesellino, with its contemporary portraits and accessories. His pictures are overloaded with detail, which is seen in the larger frescoes, as in the Sistine Chapel. He was too eclectic to be very individual. It is rather as a sound craftsman, the teacher of Piero di Cosimo and Andrea del Sarto, that Cosimo Rosselli must be estimated.<sup>6</sup>

(Berlin), generally accepted; and a small *Madonna*, London, which cf. with small *Madonna*, London, by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. See C. Phillips, art. on Salting Coll., *Burl. Mag.*

<sup>1</sup> See authoritative art. by B. B., *Burl. Mag.*, I, pp. 6-21, rehabilitating this fine artist.

<sup>2</sup> Reprod. in art. cit. in n. 1. See also *Madonna with Two SS. and Donors*, signed, 1486, coll. of Signor Pietro Foresti of Carpi, see *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, 287. Other examples are two cassone panels, Colonna Gall., Rome, *Rape of the Sabine Woman*, and *Romans and Sabines*, attrib. by B. B.

<sup>3</sup> The constrained *Visitation*, panel, Louvre, 1491, executed by pupils of Dom. Ghirlandaio, has been over-estimated. The *Drawing* for it, Uffizi, is more interesting.

<sup>4</sup> Suggested by B. B.

<sup>5</sup> See early works, as *Annunciation* and *Prophets*, by Rosselli, in frame of Lorenzo Monaco's triptych, *Adoration of the Magi*, Uffizi.

<sup>6</sup> A few vivid portraits in Rosselli's frescoes in Sistine Chapel are attrib. with high probability to P. di Cosimo, Rosselli's assistant.

# THE UMBRO-FLORENTINES

## I

### PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA<sup>1</sup>

1416?-1492

WE have seen the interrelation of style between Central and Northern Italy. We have now to trace a connection between Central Italy and Florence.

On the borders between Florence and Umbria, a group of painters, Umbrian by local connection, developed under the more vigorous Florentine influence, and are usually designated as Umbro-Florentine. Various subordinate men express different phases of the style. Above these, three masters emerge—Piero della Francesca, the master-technician of his age, Signorelli, who immensely enlarged the scope of design in a quite modern spirit, and third, Melozzo da Forlì, who introduced certain motives hitherto unknown. All of them belonged to the realistic movement and followed Masaccio in spirit. Piero became a great leader. He anticipated the *chiaroscuro* of the next generation, and his trees have the breadth and intimate treatment of Leonardo before Leonardo's time. A pupil of Domenico Veneziano, building upon a study of Masaccio, and learning certain things from Uccello, he shows little Umbrian temper. He has superb constructive powers, dignity, and intense, quiet feeling, a unique colour-tone, pure and objective, and at his best a perfection of technique. Piero is one of the chief landscapists of Europe, but the student sees the decorative value in his landscape—its tissue and pattern—before the reality. He is, in truth, bound and narrowed to nature more closely than are the greatest Florentines. He is almost too specific to be of quite the highest imaginative

<sup>1</sup> See *Piero della Francesca*, Rome, 1910, by C. Ricci, in series *L'Opera dei grandi Artisti Italiani*. For technique (Piero and others), see Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, XVIII, 311 ff. See also F. Witting.

order. He approaches the Greek sense for typical beauty of form, but is not quite Greek in imaginative detachment. His works do not launch out from the artist's mind into entirely independent life. As with Castagno, groups and figures are strangely immobile, and yet this limitation has its tectonic value, as is illustrated in the single figure of the *Magdalen* in the Duomo at Arezzo. It is also true of the *Baptism* in the National Gallery, where the upright, columnar effect gives an architectural decorative quality, although here this architectural effect is modified by the foreground angel, and by the nude figure in the background, and abstract design is expressed by means of simplified reflections in the water, actual nature thus expressing an ideal condition.

As an interior decorator Piero must be studied at Arezzo in the contracted quarters of the high and narrow choir of the Church of S. Francesco. The walls are covered with six large frescoes from the *History of the True Cross* and some minor scenes. As an ensemble it is one of the finest monuments of Italian art, and magnificent in detail. It is impossible to give an impression of the nobility of the compositions and the beauty of individual figures. The tone is rather light, perfectly flat and decorative; the colour harmonious, with charming bits, and musical with repeated notes, as the warm whites and flat darks and reds on hose and caps. In the *Finding of the Three Crosses* the landscape gives a marvellous sense of wandering distances, of glades and far hill-sides suggestive of enchanting summer days, the effect being enhanced by lines of perspective and lovely shapes and colour of clouds and sky, and by the values of the little town with its variety of warm greys and purple-slate roofs, and by the pale purple rock of the hillside with the delicious greens against it, and the light blue river below. Piero is shown here as a master of landscape sentiment. But first and foremost, he is a master of monumental composition and of figure expression, as in the *Battle Scene* with its fine pattern of crossed weapons, banners, and plumes,<sup>1</sup> and in the *Finding of the Crosses*, where the effect is simple, with rhythmic repetition of lines in the standing group on the right, in the kneeling figures, in the heavy folds of drapery. The single figures are effective, yet without isolation; and there are living portraits with quivering texture of flesh and growing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Uccello, p. 114.

hair, as seen in the beauty of S. Helena, and in a splendidly realised figure of a trumpeter, and there are textures of garments, and figured stuffs, and fashions of the time. In the *Visit of the Queen of Sheba*, the quality of the centre and left-hand group should be noted, and that of the bending Queen and the standing figure in green. The faces on the right of the pillar are all individual and alert, and in another fresco, the horsemen crossing the river are worthy to be compared with Velasquez—notice the power in the struggling horse climbing to the bank, and the grey-white leaping charger. But why particularise further? The compositions throughout are fine, the landscape sensitive, the details splendidly felt.

Similar qualities are found in the famous *Resurrection* in Borgo San Sepolcro, which is perhaps the most completely satisfying Resurrection in existence. The Christ risen in his tomb is set in the spaciousness and solitude of a large landscape. It is a triumphant figure, a body that has passed through the great trial and come out into an heroic region, in which the sleeping soldiers share. It is epic. The soft landscape is broken with clumps of growth and distant trees in dark bronze-purple and green, and still beyond is the blue distant sky with melting clouds.

Piero's portrait powers are everywhere seen, but there are two fine examples in the portraits of the *Duke and Duchess of Urbino* (Pitti), which are very objective and real, and finely organised in design—pure in form as a Greek coin. Look, for instance, at the Duke, examine the hair, notice its mass, depth, and colour, and the exquisite treatment of its surface and outlines. The work is full of air and light. It is, indeed, one of the first examples of the representation of full sunlight in nature. The colour is original—cool, yet not cold, quiet, yet not dull, here and there brilliant without disturbing the general tone. The landscape, a little artificial to unaccustomed eyes, is entirely true to the valley of the upper Tiber, and entirely masterly. The artist's own personality is out of sight, but we see wonderfully well what the Duke was—a great man and a fighter, but with the kindly power that made him also a patron of art and the founder of the brilliant provincial court of Urbino.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the portraits of the grandson of this pair and his duchess, by Titian (see p. 272), to contrast two typical methods of painting, both great.

We have suggested Piero's limitations. They are limitations rather than defects. His work stands as an absolute creation, complete in itself. We may like it or leave it, but it exists like a work of nature, beyond criticism.

## II

LUCA SIGNORELLI<sup>1</sup>

1441-1523

Piero della Francesca's great scholar was Luca Signorelli, who like Piero, though Umbrian in birth, was Florentine in ideals and training. Signorelli, coming of a family locally important, was born in the attractive Umbrian hill town of Cortona, on the main road between Perugia and Florence, not far removed from Arezzo. This remained his home, in spite of constant journeyings, throughout his life, and for forty years and more, up to his last year, he held there numerous offices of trust. There he received the influences of local Umbrian art, and saw the early works of Fra Angelico, who was still active and popular elsewhere. Having an uncle in Arezzo, he was entered when a boy in the workshop of Piero della Francesca, and naturally came into the Florentine current. Probably he studied later in Florence, certainly he came under the influence of Antonio Pollajuolo and Verrocchio and passed into the van of the progressives. His ability was soon recognised. He executed work in Cortona, he worked in Florence with Lorenzo di Medici as patron, and he was occupied through Central Italy, at Volterra and Siena, Perugia, Citta di Castello, and Loreto, and in various other places. He worked also with his contemporaries at Rome, sometimes coming and going, sometimes making longer stays. He has left a large body of works — extensive frescoes, monumental altarpieces, church banners, and little predella panels. At the end of middle life, when sixty-three years old (in 1504), he executed the great frescoes at Orvieto, just four years before Michelangelo and Raphael began their work in the Vatican. From that time the full tide of the Renaissance swept past him. His vigour indeed did not decline. He continued to paint, and was active in city

<sup>1</sup> See C. & C.'s careful treatment; and Cruttwell.

affairs up to the very last. But he lived and painted more continuously than before at Cortona, and was fully occupied, honoured, and apparently content among the friends of his native city.

Up to Signorelli's time the chief interpreters of the nude figure in Florence in Massaccio's following, were Antonio Pollajuolo and Verrocchio; but neither of these so used the figure to a pictorial end as did this Umbro-Florentine, who became thereby an important factor in the education of Michelangelo. Signorelli doubtless owed much to his master Piero, and he owed a very great deal to Pollajuolo and Verrocchio. He learned also from other Florentines, but passed beyond them. He is less literal than Pollajuolo, and at his best interprets a spiritual world. Large primitive human presences emerge. There is a general plastic feeling in the field as a whole. There is an intimacy in the relations between action and setting, and a quality of breadth in his drawing, especially of figures in action, which suggests some great moderns—Velasquez, Delacroix, Degas. He pays the price of liberty, indeed; his loose construction at times disintegrates the design. Yet this openness of composition indicates a stimulating alertness, and every group grips us as a whole. His landscape is subordinate and seems strange, especially after Piero della Francesca's realism. This may be a fault, certainly it is a problem; and his colour, like Botticelli's, seems not a natural gift, though it is a positive artistic factor in his work; it is not so much vivid as tranquilly flowing, a sort of slow-pulsed harmony—a colour of intervals and reticence, sometimes roused to passion. His indifference to refined types obscures our sense of his essential penetration into form and his imaginative meaning. His power is that of an intense personality, expressing itself in a rather tremendous art, and conceding nothing to precedent or external beauty. It was art that led the way to the consummate mastery of Michelangelo.

Signorelli's works may be divided into three periods: 1. The EARLY period, during his first forty years (before 1480); 2. The CENTRAL, from 1480 through the Orvieto frescoes (thirty-ninth to sixty-third year, 1480-1504); 3. The LATE, after the Orvieto frescoes till his death at eighty-two (1504-1523).

The early works are summed up in the *Pan* (Berlin, about 1475), a masterpiece of the same wonderful decade (1470-1480)



that produced Botticelli's *Primavera* and Leonardo's early studies. The principal figures form a subtly unified group in familiar intercourse with the nature god. They seem of some primeval race. The background is a symbol of the earth, rather than a literal landscape. There is an interplay between landscape and its inhabitants which is a new achievement.

Early in the Central Period are the important frescoes at Loreto (1484) which cover the walls and vaulting of the little sacristy of the church (Santa Casa). Among these the *S. Thomas* shows the simplicity and dignity of Masaccio and Piero della Francesca worked out in a dramatic direction. The *Conversion of S. Paul* is a masterpiece of movement and action, with vivid rhythms which remind us of the modern Daumier. Of other examples, the *Crucifixion with the Magdalen* at Florence illustrates the devotion of all an artist's resources to a noble subject. Seldom shall we find such deep feeling served by such beauty of form and colour. The single dramatic motive of the Magdalen subordinates other episodes. She has the receding brow, the full lips, the coarse, unreasoning instincts of the animal in woman; but they are redeemed by sorrow; and this dignity is carried into every accessory motive.<sup>1</sup> Another example, the *Altarpiece* (1484) in the Cathedral of Perugia, shocks us with its realism, its want of suavity. Yet the emancipation of the scheme, the nervous vitality of the picture, are superb. Other works are the *Annunciation* (1491) at Volterra, with its fine feeling, large and gracious flow of form, and angelic cloud-motives, and the *S. Sebastian* (1496), with its originality and pungency of design. But the Monte Oliveto *Frescoes* (1497) are the most interesting paintings of this period. They are genial spontaneous works, decorative, with descriptive charm and delightful landscape.

Toward the end of the Central Period came the commission to complete the decoration of the chapel in the Cathedral of Orvieto, which Fra Angelico had begun fifty years before, and for four and a half years (1499-1503) Signorelli was somewhat intermittently working there. These scenes from the *Last Judgment* have usually been considered as Signorelli's masterpiece, but they are of less real beauty than earlier works. They are

<sup>1</sup> Attrib. by C. & C. Some critics assign the design to Signorelli, the execution to a very able unknown pupil.

Fig. 51.



PIERO DELLA  
FRANCESCA.

London.

THE BAPTISM.  
Page 140.

Fig. 52.



CRUCIFIXION, WITH MAGDALEN.  
Page 144.

SIGNORELLI. Accademia, Florence.

Fig. 53.



SIXTUS IV PORTRAIT GROUP.  
Page 146.

MELOZZO DA FORLÌ.

Rome.

Fig. 54.



Anderson.

LAST JUDGMENT.

without the dignity of the works at Loreto, or the idyllic charm of the *Pan*. They are less appropriate as decoration than the Monte Oliveto frescoes, and have not the passionate intimacy of his best altarpieces. The artist's attitude seems almost satiric. Yet he has displayed an amazing profusion of his gifts. It is a great experiment of restless movement, full of intricacy, vigour, and draughtsmanship, and of monumental importance.<sup>1</sup> Signorelli painted for painters, and painters profited by his work. Some of the minor decorations in the chapel are very beautiful and original. The *Medallions* with figures of Dante and Virgil, and scenes from the *Divine Comedy*, are by Luca himself, and are brilliant examples of his power of seizing the spirit of a theme.<sup>2</sup> It is during this time, on a visit to Cortona, that Signorelli executed one of his finest and most reticent works—the great *Pietà* of 1502, in which he lends his knowledge to the highest ends. We see behind the draughtsmanship a deep sentiment which lifts the picture far above its æsthetic interest, and we may find the believer under the painter.

The late works are often of high interest in their ease and vivid action; as the *Deposition* at Umbertide and the *Predella* of the Uffizi, a supreme improvisation. But in general there are no new characteristics.

Many of Signorelli's works are by assistants, from his design, and their attribution offers a fascinating problem to the connoisseur.

**FOLLOWERS OF SIGNORELLI.**—Among his assistants GIROLAMO GENGA (1476–1551), who may have assisted him at Orvieto, judging from the style of the arabesques, is an able but dry decorative painter. More interesting is an unnamed follower whose decorative pictures in London<sup>3</sup> are gay and delightful, though mannered. Another is the unknown painter of the "*Signorelli*" of the Sistine Chapel (where at least two hands are evident), who perhaps was DON BARTOLOMMEO DELLA GATTA, an interesting

<sup>1</sup> Design mainly by Signorelli; execution often slight and rough, often by pupils.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michelangelo's *Medallions*, Sistine Chapel, and Botticelli's illustrations of Dante. Cf. the art of William Blake for a power to express unearthly ideas, and their abstractions from ordinary appearances.

<sup>3</sup> *Story of Griselda*, London (attrib. doubtfully to Fungai by B. B.); *Tiberius Gracchus*, Buda-Pesth.

and independent secondary master of the school.<sup>1</sup> Other unknown assistants are of little capacity, and we need not linger over them.

## III

MELOZZO DA FORLÌ<sup>2</sup>

1438-1494

Melozzo da Forlì, called by the name of his native town, was a pupil of Piero della Francesca, and well illustrates the interchange of artistic influences in Central Italy. He worked together with his master in the Castello at Urbino, at the cultivated court of Duke Federigo di Montefeltro, in 1469. Here he as well as Piero became friends of Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael. For several years following he was settled in Rome, as Court Painter to Pope Sixtus IV, and he was more or less connected with various eclectic painters of Umbria and the Marches who gathered training indiscriminately from Roman, Umbro-Florentine, and Florentine connections.

Only a few works, mainly in fresco, however, remain. In Rome, fragments of a famous wall-painting are to be seen in an *Ascending Christ* and in *Music-making Angels*. They are full of physical glow and life, with suavity and breadth of treatment, and the colour is bright and cool, in violets and soft yellows. The *Sixtus IV and his Court*, in which the architectural setting may be due to Piero della Francesca's training, is the first portrait-group painted for itself in Italian art, and save for some constraint, is quite in modern style.<sup>3</sup> In the *Frescoes* at Loreto Melozzo shows an original art, more expansive and worldly than his master Piero, and showing little of his influence, unless in the architectural motives. His *Pesta-Pepe Fresco* at Forlì recalls the Florentines—Domenico Veneziano, or Castagno, or even Masaccio—in its amplitude and vigour. And the *Angel*

<sup>1</sup> Noticed in docs. from 1448, see G. Mancini, *Riv. d'A.*, 1904; possibly related to Melozzo da Forlì, but rather earlier in education. See List. His attributed drawings are especially fine. For him see P. Toesca, *L'Arte*, VI, 232-45.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì*.

<sup>3</sup> A beautiful fresco, *Annunciation*, Pantheon, Rome, is given by Venturi to him. See *L'Arte*, XIII, 140, 141. See p. 147, n. 3.

*Gabriel* (Uffizi) is largely conceived, though somewhat constrained in movement. Melozzo is one of the strongly individual men in Italian painting of secondary talent, vivid and interesting though not profound.

MELOZZO'S SCHOOL has an interest for his relation to Rome and to Umbrian and North Italian artists.<sup>1</sup> Some followers are strong only by virtue of Florentine affiliations, as LORENZO DA VITERBO, whose frescoes at Viterbo show a half Florentine and half Umbro-Florentine style, related to Piero della Francesca, and seemingly to Gozzoli. But he, like Bartolommeo della Gatta, is a provincial talent and hardly individual. Melozzo's eclectic pupil, the long-lived PALMEZZANO (1456—after 1543) was prolific and facile, but commonplace. He completed the Loreto series, probably painting on the *Entry into Jerusalem*, where the landscape is somewhat in Piero della Francesca's vein. In his later career he was influenced by the Venetian Rondinelli, thus forming a minor link between North and Central Italy. There is also some interaction between Urbino and masters of Ferrara and Bologna, particularly seen in the school of Faenza,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps in Timoteo Viti. GIOVANNI SANTI of Urbino, Raphael's father, with whom Melozzo contracted so affectionate a friendship, had a conscientious and pleasant provincial talent, and was affected in later life by the Umbrians. Still farther afield, ANTONIAZZO ROMANO,<sup>3</sup> an eclectic strongly influenced by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo—and his followers formed an offshoot in and near Rome of the Umbrian and Umbro-Florentine styles; a movement which should be noted, though it is of slight historical importance.

<sup>1</sup> Note the important *Allegorical Figures*, London and Berlin, once attrib. to Melozzo, now generally given to Justus of Ghent, a Netherlander evidently influenced by the Italians, who worked at Urbino for Federigo da Montefeltro, the famous Duke.

<sup>2</sup> Bertucci and Utili.

<sup>3</sup> His best works are confused with Fiorenzo's. See art. by Herbert E. Everett, *Am. Jour. of Arch.*, 2nd Series, XI (1907), No. 3, 279. Also privately reprinted. See *Annunciation* (p. 146, n. 3), suggests P. d. Francesca's influence in figure of Virgin. By Antoniazzo?

## SIENA FROM ABOUT 1400 TO 1500<sup>1</sup>

### I

MEANWHILE Siena, even on the verge of the Early Renaissance, had been conserving her Mediæval ideals. Sassetta was the last great painter of the earlier period, the period between Giotto and Leonardo, when the rest of Italy was largely Giottesque or was awakening to the scientific study of nature. Yet Siennese art proceeded on its uninterrupted course, throwing out influences upon Umbria, North Italy, even upon Florence, but accepting little in return. Siena could not indeed be wholly untouched. An example is the illuminator GIOVANNI DI PAOLO (1403?-1482).<sup>2</sup> Beginning as a pupil of Sassetta, he later went to Florence, and is constantly found imitating someone—as Sassetta or Taddeo, Gentile da Fabriano or Fra Angelico. He is sometimes Duccesque or bizarre, but his best pictures exhibit a rare individual note, as the *Predella* of the Saracini collection.<sup>3</sup> Compared, however, to the great doings elsewhere, the artists of Siena, though often travelled and sometimes imitating, more than ever give an impression of a lovely decorative school rather than of individual achievement.<sup>4</sup> While there are able painters and much distinction in style and even a certain naturalism, their work in general presents the effect of an inbred school drawing toward its close.

### II

Sassetta had two leading pupils—Sano di Pietro and Vecchiatta.<sup>5</sup>

Sano di Pietro (1406-1481), the maker of pious altarpieces,

<sup>1</sup> See Perkins, arts. in *Burl. Mag.*, *Rass. d'A.*, *Rass. Senese*, etc; C. & C. (Hutton and Douglas eds.), who cite sources and discuss works at length; also Hey. and Ol.

<sup>2</sup> For miniature work see *L'Arte*, VII, 384. For works at Rome, 303-8.

<sup>3</sup> See *Nativity*, Vatican, pub. in *Rass. d'A.*, IX, 114.

<sup>4</sup> In architecture the work is individual and distinguished.

<sup>5</sup> We follow Mr. Perkins in this classification.

filled the churches and convents about Siena with his sweet Madonnas and saints, which are now largely gathered into the gallery there. He was little interested in problems. He used his heart rather than his mind, but he has a value of his own, and is interesting as setting the portrait type for likenesses of S. Bernardino, whom he must have known.

**Vecchietta, 1412-1418.**—The second important pupil of Sassetta was Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta, in whom, through the influence of Donatello, the Florentine Renaissance made its first salient incursion into Siena. He was really great in architecture and sculpture, and he was strong in painting, but he takes his place as much by virtue of his teaching as by his own art. Even in him the Florentine influence is by no means revolutionary. Though we find careful character studies, as in his early painting on the inner side of the doors of the hospital presses—elsewhere, as on the outside of the same doors, there is a more ideal vein, indicating the influence of Sassetta. The Baptistery *Frescoes* (1450-1453) of his middle period are very lovely. In his altarpieces there gradually appears a more academic tone, as in the important triptych *Madonna and SS.* of 1457 (Uffizi). All his later work was for the hospital, and a statue of the *Risen Christ*, of intense, ascetic character, witnesses to his Donatello-like temper and technical mastery.

**Domenico di Bartolo (c. 1400-1449?)**, a pupil of Taddeo di Bartolo, has uncompromising realism and a kind of generalised portraiture. He is important mainly for his influence in Umbria, where he is known to have worked. His signed *Madonna* (1433, Siena), exquisite if quaint, sets the standard for his style, and there is a characteristic *Altarpiece* in the Pinacoteca of Perugia. In his *Frescoes* (1440-1443) in the hospital of Siena he has given an entirely new kind of subject, and his treatment, in spite of misunderstood anatomy, forms an isolated phenomenon far ahead of the time in Italy.

**Matteo di Giovanni, c. 1435-1495.**<sup>1</sup>—Domenico's pupil,<sup>2</sup> Matteo di Giovanni, though born in Borgo San Sepolcro, is in style a Siennese painter, and Sano's influence is seen in almost all his tabernacle work. Like Sano and like Taddeo, he belongs to the unimaginative and matter-of-fact line of painters, but he is

<sup>1</sup> For Matteo's early style see F. M. Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, VIII, 199 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We follow Mr. Perkins in this classification.



more original and at times brilliant, though never quite free from affectation. His sense for colour is truly Eastern and Sienese, as is seen in the rich colour pattern in the *Massacre of the Innocents* in S. Agostino, Siena, and he often has charming naïveté and freshness, as in his early *Madonna Enthroned* (1470, Siena), and in his *Madonna delle Neve*. In his most noted work, the *Assumption of the Virgin* (London), he almost achieved a masterpiece.

### III

Vecchietta trained three important pupils, Neroccio, Benvenuto di Giovanni, and Francesco di Giorgio.

**Neroccio**, 1447-1500.—Neroccio di Landi, Vecchietta's especial follower, is an able sculptor and has exquisite charm and grace in painting. He has a feeling for form as well as pattern, and a soft and purplish colour-tone that is peculiarly his own. He seems to be reminiscent of Simone, but is still more like Duccio, and he retains something of the gentle Gothic flow of 14th-century sculpture.

**Benvenuto di Giovanni** (1436-1518?) is the second important pupil of Vecchietta and the last master of note who is entirely loyal to native tradition. He had a long and prolific career in a more conventional style than Vecchietta and, especially in early examples, more archaic drawing and love of ornament. In these early works he does not lack a gentle and tender mood, as seen in the blitheness and glow of the *Annunciation* (1466) at Volterra, where the chief motive repeats Simone Martini, though the general composition is highly original. There follow many altarpieces and frescoes, half monumental, half decorative, always appropriate, often with true feeling for landscape, now and then of unusual decorative beauty. In his late years he became more original and powerful. He developed a strange intensity which seems to correspond to some change of attitude in himself, as in the *Ascension* (Siena), which is quite of the Renaissance in knowledge, but in the emaciated figure of the risen Lord, in the intense agony of devotion of the kneeling saints on earth, shows a conception of life that brings the master into the same class with Crivelli and Tura.

Benvenuto's sensitive design is still further shown in the portrait of the *Lady in Green* (London), by his son and assistant,

GIROLAMO DI BENVENUTO (1470-1524), who followed him closely, though with a personal outlook—one of the most decorative and felicitous of its type in Italian painting.

Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1502.<sup>1</sup>—Vecchietta's third notable follower is Francesco di Giorgio, a travelled and famous architect, associated at one time with Leonardo da Vinci in Lombardy. He is touched by the Florentine Renaissance and its conscious search for form. His aim, like Botticelli's, is linear, with an ordering of line and space which gives style yet escapes mannerism. The figures and accessories are real, as in a *Profile of a Lady* (Richmond), well realised and finely designed, which brings him into the contemporary, secular world.

#### IV

The Siense of the Cinquecento interest less as they yield to external influences, but there is one delightful painter, BERNARDINO FUNGAI (1460-1516), a pupil of Giovanni di Paolo, from whom he derived his dry technique, who shows the relaxation of the earlier precision, yet leaves the impress of a still ambitious school.

He is distinguished for a delicate, earthy colour, based at times upon that of his master, as in the *Assumption of the Virgin*, in the Cloister of S. Girolamo, Siena; and Umbrian influence is surely found in his fantastic but sensitive landscape development, seen in various pictures. There are among his backgrounds unforgettable pale lilacs and old gold, streaks of misty western twilights over Tuscan hills—a felicitous poetic quality which has hardly had due recognition. A portrait of *Costanza de' Medici* (London)<sup>2</sup> may be by Fungai. It is among the fine Renaissance portraits of women of high intuitive quality in design and rare originality of colour.

From this time on foreign influences increasingly appear. There is a notice of the employment of Signorelli, whose Siense pupil Genga has left several works; there were painters from Umbria and the North, and Perugino painted an important *Altarpiece* for the Church of S. Agostino. The importation of the Umbrian Pintoricchio and his assistants to decorate the

<sup>1</sup> A partner of Neroccio, and more vigorous.

<sup>2</sup> Attrib. by Mr. Berenson to Dom. Ghirlandaio. Given by Claude Phillips tentatively to di Credi, and so catalogued. See also p. 145, n. 3.

Cathedral Library marks the close of the pure native tradition. The Lombard Sodoma, invited to Siena in 1501 by rich banker patrons, settled there and introduced an academic Leonardesque mode entirely alien to the older styles, and influenced a whole generation of younger craftsmen.

To estimate these influences we must consider the later Umbrian and Northern styles.

Fig. 55.



FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO.

NATIVITY.  
Page 151.

*Brog.*

Siena.

Fig. 56.



ANNUNCIATION, WITH S. LUKE.

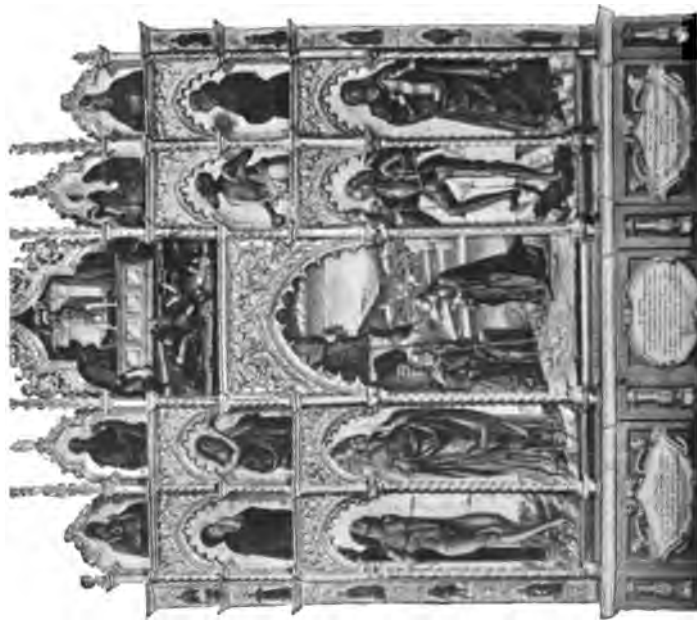
Page 155, n. 2.

BONFIGLI

*Alinari.*

Perugia.

Fig. 57.



POLYPTYCH.

NICCOLO DA FOLIGNO

*Alinari.*

Foligno.

## RENAISSANCE UMBRIA

WE have seen that during the early Umbrian period (up to about 1450) most of the interesting Umbrian movements came from the Marches. During the second period (1450 to about 1525) the scene shifts, and Foligno and Perugia take the lead.

The notable artists are Niccolò da Foligno, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino, Pintoricchio, and their following. Until about 1450 there is no painting of importance in Umbria proper outside of Gubbio, and the Gubbian school practically died with Nelli. At Perugia there was nothing before the advent of Boccatis from the Marches in 1447, and even he is of only provincial interest. The local needs were supplied by Siennese and Florentine painters, as Taddeo Bartolo, in 1403, Domenico di Bartolo, in 1438, and Sano di Pietro. Fra Angelico painted an *Altarpiece* for S. Domenico, probably before 1418. Domenico Veneziano was in the city in 1438. Filippo Lippi appraised Bonfigli's frescoes there in 1461. What first aroused the school was the presence of these Florentine artists, who brought a Florentine influence which is constant in the Umbrian art of the second period, making the school more than a provincial offshoot of Siena, and tending to correct its narrowness and emotionalism. The especial impulse was given by Benozzo Gozzoli, who was working in the hill-town of Montefalco, beyond Assisi, in 1450 and 1452.<sup>1</sup>

### I

Niccolò da Foligno, c. 1430–1502.<sup>2</sup>—The same conditions existed in the school of Foligno. Gozzoli's influence is evident, and especially so in Niccolò da Foligno, whose vigorous talents

<sup>1</sup> See *Madonna and Angels*, by B. Caporale, typical of Gozzoli's influence. See *Riv. d'A.*, 1904, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Pupil of Gozzoli (C. & C.); of Pier Antonio Mezzastris (Vent.). On Niccolò's derivations see Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, June 1907, who traces the influence of the Vivarini as well.

and native Umbrian temperament were disciplined, though not essentially modified, by Florentine form. In Niccolò's early years the tender sentiment and reserve of mediæval ideals persist. In middle age there is a tendency to vivacity, and often charming whimsicality, while later in life he exhibits an almost vulgar vehemence, a racy provincialism only different from the primitive Nelli by virtue of its greater knowledge. To the end he retained the old form of altarpiece, with its single figures in Gothic panels. It is interesting to find the influence of Crivelli who, except upon Niccolò, has left so few traces of his long stay in the Marches; Niccolò's emotional tone has the same stimulating character as Crivelli's, in a more provincial mode.<sup>1</sup> In him the distinctively Umbrian genius asserts itself, in its mediæval outlook upon life, in its want of intellectual quality, in its strange irresponsibility.

Niccolò's influence is manifest in the later painting of the Marches—as in the minor eclectic Matteo da Gualdo, referred to earlier, and in the more interesting Lorenzo San Severino, the younger—and it is also felt in Perugia, soon to become the centre of Umbrian painting. MATTEO DA GUALDO (active 1462–1498)<sup>2</sup> is a decorator of playful invention, but innocent of serious design. He also imitated Nelli of Gubbio and Girolamo Boccatis, and even Sano di Pietro of Siena. He, together with PIER ANTONIO MEZZASTRIS (active 1452?), executed entertaining *Frescoes*<sup>3</sup> in the Oratory "dei Pellegrini," Assisi, quite charming as illustrations and decoration. Mezzastris is little more than an imitator of Gozzoli, and both artists have only local importance.

## II

**Bonfigli, c. 1425–1496.**<sup>4</sup>—The first Perugian artist of note is Benedetto Bonfigli. His early education is uncertain. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarkably expressive picture, *S. Giovanni Gualberto before the Crucifix*, Berlin, reprod. *L'Arte*, V, 294, attrib. to Niccolò by Frizzoni and others, to Benvenuto di Giovanni by Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Senese*, III, fasc. III–IV, 76, accepted by B. B. See C. & C., Dent, III, 118 n. There is a wonderful drawing by Niccolò in the Brit. Museum.

<sup>2</sup> For sources see Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, Aug. 1907; cf. also Vent., VII, Pt. 1, 526, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Discussed by the critics of the Mostra of Umbrian Art at Perugia, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> For Bonfigli's obscure assistant, Bartolommeo Corporale, see C. Ricci, *Riv. d'A.*, II, 38 ff., and C. Gamba, *Rass. d'A.*, IV, 109 ff.

Berenson suggests that Boccatis was his master; Venturi considers him an offshoot of Siena. His *Lives of S. Louis of Toulouse* and of *S. Ercolano*—frescoes in the Palazzo Municipio, Perugia—are in a descriptive and realistic vein uncommon in Umbria, and recall frescoes in Siena.<sup>1</sup> One, *The Consecration of S. Louis*, is simple and dignified, in the Florentine manner. The more characteristic panels and church banners<sup>2</sup> reveal the provincial Umbrian.

III

FIorenzo DI LORENZO

1440-1521

But pleasing as is this early phase of Perugian painting, it is chiefly valuable as a factor in the education of less local men. Of these men the first was Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, now regarded as the true pioneer of the school, and as the master of Perugino, and probably of Pintoricchio.<sup>3</sup> This artist has been rehabilitated by modern criticism,<sup>4</sup> and is especially important for his relation, as yet obscure, to the Florentine realists, as shown in his superb figure draughtsmanship<sup>5</sup> and in types of heads and treatment of single figures.

The point of departure in studying him is his only signed picture, *Niche with SS. Peter and Paul*, 1482, in Perugia. This is comparatively immature, and reflects the mediæval feeling of Bonfigli and Gozzoli. There is also a group of pictures showing a similar general style, the same vigorous drawing, and the same peculiarities—as a bronze-like handling of drapery which suggests a goldsmith's training. One of the most interesting of these

<sup>1</sup> Cf. those by Dom. di Bartolo and Priamo della Quercia in the hospital, Siena.

<sup>2</sup> As the *Annunciation with S. Luke*, Perugia, and the *Pietà*, S. Pietro, Perugia.

<sup>3</sup> Vent., VII, Pt. i. 544, considers him in the main Perugino's follower.

<sup>4</sup> Especially by the insight of Cavalcaselle, on doc. and internal evidence, generally agreed to. C. & C., Dent, III, 184 ff. We have a notice of Fiorenzo as decemvir, on the City Council, as early as 1472. Mor., III, 165, gives authority, and a good analysis of his form, 166-7.

<sup>5</sup> B. B. (*Lists*), "formed under the influence of 'Benozzo Gozzoli,' 'Ant. Pollajuolo,' and 'Verrocchio.'" Perkins insists upon the Verrocchiesque character of Fiorenzo's art. W. & W. suggest Ghirlandaio's influence. We think this possible. The beautiful *Annunciation*, Fenway Court, shows the influence of Verrocchio. It may be by the Roman painter, Antoniazzo.



is the *Nativity* (Perugia), breathing a very intimate Umbrian sentiment. A Madonna in London, a prototype for Pintoricchio, is the masterpiece of the earlier period, and to judge by its almost Florentine freedom, was painted in early maturity.

His more descriptive style is illustrated by the series of panels in Perugia, *The Miracles of S. Bernardino*,<sup>1</sup> in which the influence of Bonfigli seems marked in a certain affectation.<sup>2</sup> The best are masterpieces of delightful narrative, and must have suggested decorative motives to Perugino. Of a later period is the somewhat awkward but noble *Adoration of the Magi* (Pitti),<sup>3</sup> with vivid portraits and a fine landscape, which marks the height of Fiorenzo's style. In fact, as a craftsman, he is more serious than Perugino. That his fame should have been so long obscured is one of the curious accidents of history.

Several minor masters continue Fiorenzo's style, or that of the young Pintoricchio, without adopting Perugino's formalism. There are works by MELANZIO at Montefalco of exceptionally lovely feeling if with little style or drawing. One provincial yet eclectic artist of some charm is BERNARDINO DI MARIOTTO<sup>4</sup> (active 1497-1527), who is well represented in the Perugia Gallery and at San Severino by altarpieces which are remarkable for their quiet colour and decorative feeling. They show also the influence of the Marches, of Lorenzo da S. Severino the younger, and even of Crivelli, and form a fascinating study of the interaction of styles.

## IV

### PERUGINO

1446-1524

The chief master of the Umbrian school was Pietro Vanucci, called Perugino (the Perugian), who was born of a good family in

<sup>1</sup> Venturi's view of Fiorenzo (*L'Arte*, XII, 183-203) disagrees with previous criticism. He attributes the best of this series to Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio Landi, a view which is untenable on account of the drawing.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bonfigli's frescoes in the Perugia Gallery.

<sup>3</sup> Ascribed by Vas. to Perugino; see also Vent., *L'Arte*, XII, 197 ff. First ascribed to Fiorenzo by C. & C.

<sup>4</sup> At one time confused with Pintoricchio. Pupil, according to Mor. (Germ. Ed.), III, 164, of Ludovico de' Angelis (signed work, Perugia), an obscure and dry master, from whom Mariotto clearly derives his style.

Città della Pieve, near Chiusi. We know little of his early life. He left home as a boy of nine, and, according to Vasari, entered some minor bottega in Perugia. But his early work indicates Fiorenzo di Lorenzo as his master, though Bonfigli is said to have also been his teacher. Moreover, in 1472 he was entered in Florence in the Company of Florentine Painters,<sup>1</sup> and early works in that city executed for the Gesuati, and their Florentine bias, indicate his early presence there and his debt to Florentine and Umbro-Florentine masters. He was of sufficient repute to be called by Pope Sixtus V to work in the Sistine Chapel in Rome (1481-c. 1484?), together with leading Florentine masters—Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Rosselli—and he executed more works there than any other of the group. He continued to hold a close relation to Perugia, where he became Raphael's master about 1500, and he was in frequent contact with Rome and even with Venice, and travelled much back and forth. But Florence seems to have been his headquarters throughout the middle part of his life. He married there (in 1493) and owned property. It was not until the year 1506 that he retired to Perugia for a quiet though not inactive old age.<sup>2</sup>

His most characteristic form is the monumental altarpiece, and the great proportion of his numerous remaining works are panel-pieces. His frescoes, like those of so many quattrocento masters, were sacrificed to later productions, and of the few that remain the only ones of special importance are that in the *Sistine Chapel*—of his early maturity—the *Crucifixion* in Florence of 1496, and the later ones in the *Cambio* at Perugia (1499-1500). Perugino creates a new type, soon to flower in Raphael, in his ideal Madonnas, pietistic yet of classic refinement. It is a reversion to the mediæval. It lacks the human and realistic feeling of Fiorenzo and of Florentine or Venetian art, and there is a touch of unreality, which explains our occasional distaste. Perugino remained Umbrian. He never thoroughly assimilated the spirit of Florentine science. His talent is academic and conservative. On the other hand, he belongs to the Renaissance in his classic and monumental design, in his tendency toward naturalism, in his sensitive landscape.

Perugino's art has broadly three phases: 1. The FIRST up to 1480, before the *Delivery of the Keys* in the Sistine Chapel, a

<sup>1</sup> According to Vent., VII, 2, 455.

<sup>2</sup> See *Portrait of Perugino* in fresco, Cambio, Perugia, by himself.

phase characterised by severe self-discipline in style and some slight assimilation from his contemporaries. 2. The SECOND, including all his most ambitious efforts, from his first works at Rome (c. 1481) to his retirement to Perugia about 1496. 3. The LAST, a period of declining invention but constant occupation, mainly at Perugia (c. 1496-1524).<sup>1</sup>

Historically the early pictures are very important. Of these only one is dated by document—the *S. Sebastian*, a fresco fragment of 1478 at Cerqueto, a well-drawn and expressive figure close to Fiorenzo's style.<sup>2</sup> Fiorenzo's influence is again seen in the landscape of the important *Crucifixion* (Uffizi), and Signorelli's influence in the draughtsmanship. Contrasted with this is the romantic *Crucifixion* in S. Petersburg, where Perugino finds himself probably for the first time. The *S. Jerome* is copied from the Uffizi altarpiece, and the picture indicates an immature art entering upon an academic trend. This is still more seen in the *Pietà* of the Florence Academy, one of a series of early pictures very carefully designed and executed.<sup>3</sup> It suggests Verrocchio's influence. But though Perugino was open to Florentine suggestion, his style must have formed itself independently. All these early works show a robust talent and technical ambition, with a certain sluggish provinciality of temper. The peculiar narrow pietism, tense but passionless, which is the artist's especial characteristic is quite un-Florentine.

In his central period Perugino's range extends from Rome to Mantua—where he worked for Isabella d'Este—and Venice, which he visited in 1494, and where he may have painted the magnificent portrait of *Francesco dell' Opere* (Uffizi), and have studied the oil technique which he began to use about this time. In his first work of this period in Rome—the fresco of the *Delivery of the Keys to S. Peter* (Sistine Chapel)—his academic trend stood him in good stead. It has a decorative value, which the work of no Florentine master working there before Michelangelo has. In its open distribution and sense for pattern we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Venturi on Perugino's beginnings.

<sup>2</sup> Reprod. in Broussolle's delightful *La Jeunesse de Perugin*, Paris, 1901, 376; original inscription cit., 375, also cit. by C. & C., Murray ed., 1866, III, 175, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Designed for the Gesuati, as was the later *Gethsemane*, Florence Acad. Important frescoes of this series were lost in the destruction of the monastery. He also designed stained glass for the Gesuati.

see an origin for Raphael's design in the *Sposalizio* (Milan). The actual painting is virile and even affectionate, the landscape recalls Fiorenzo. His three other frescoes in the chapel were made away with for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, and of his other Roman frescoes only the rather perfunctory ceiling decorations of the *Stanza del Incendio*, painted much later, remain, preserved by Raphael out of honour for his master when he was redecorating the walls. The *Entombment* (Pitti), of 1495, marks a broadening in design and technique from his earlier standards, and the theme receives almost the final solution on quattrocento lines, while the *Crucifixion* in S. Maddalena di Pazzi, of about the same period, is a beautiful expression of his pietistic manner. To this decade, the golden age of Perugino's success, belongs also the triptych *Madonna with the Two Archangels* (London), where feeling and craft are in perfect poise. Undated, but perhaps of this time and in his most careful style, is the *Apollo and Marsyas* (Louvre),<sup>1</sup> long credited to Raphael, which offers a tribute to humanism rare for Perugino.

By the year 1500 came the advent of many helpers. He was enormously productive just at this time. His work of the period includes among other things the frescoes in the *Cambio* or Merchants' Exchange at Perugia (1500). This little room has an air of dignity and repose given by the architectural proportions, the large windows, the slightly vaulted ceiling, the richly carved or inlaid wainscoting and furniture. Perugino's task was the fresco decoration above the wainscoting. The ceiling is designed with choice and gay arabesques.<sup>2</sup> On the walls is that combination of religious scenes and pagan moralities so dear to the Renaissance taste. It is his most elaborate ensemble of mural decoration, but it is executed in collaboration with pupils, and reveals some poverty of invention and affectation of sentiment. On the border of his last period is the panel, *Triumph of Chastity*, painted in 1505 under the specific direction of Isabella d'Este for her famous little boudoir in the Castello at Mantua, in emulation of similar subjects for the same room by Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, and Costa. It is the last work in which Perugino originated new motives. It is a pungent *tour de force*, somewhat

<sup>1</sup> See a beautiful drawing for it, Venice Acad.

<sup>2</sup> There is no reason for believing the tradition that Raphael worked upon this ceiling while he was Perugino's assistant.

awkward in figure composition, and disappointing to Isabella, yet of refreshing novelty and with dainty fancies in the landscape.

Of the decadence of his later years there are many examples at Perugia and elsewhere, as the *Resurrection* in the Vatican. In 1521 he painted, after Raphael's death, the row of figures in the lower part of Raphael's *Fresco* in S. Severo, Perugia. Often in this last period he is feeble, yet often he shows a more personal art than earlier. The colour is at times very sensitive, as in the two signed *Frescoes* of 1521 in the Collegiata, Spello, where the execution is of beautiful freedom and ease, and in general the landscapes reveal poetic feeling. The late works, indeed, at their best, round out the career, and we may sum up the master in the just encomium of Ruskin as at least "never weary, never impatient, never untender."

## V

**FOLLOWERS OF PERUGINO.**—None of Perugino's numerous pupils were of high distinction, with the exception of Raphael, and the influence of Raphael in the later period of the school modified that of his master. In fact it is difficult to disentangle the cross-relationships and influences in the intricate artistic period of the High Renaissance.

The followers of Perugino, though often charming, have no historical significance, and the movement dies from inanition in a generation.

**Lo Spagna**, active 1500–1528.—The best-known scholar is Giovanni di Pietro, called Lo Spagna (the Spaniard), who was influenced also by Pintoricchio and Raphael, and who has left numerous works. He began as a finely grained imitator of his master, with pale colour-harmonies, as in the *Nativity* (Vatican), and ends, in the gallery and churches of Spoleto, with a more discursive and less pleasing vein of eclecticism. Large fragments of frescoes, *The Nine Muses in Landscape*<sup>1</sup> (Rome), are decorative; and some of the smaller *Madonnas*, as those in the Louvre and the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery (Milan), with the famous *Sposalizio* at Caen,<sup>2</sup> are representative of the best efforts of Peruginese painting.

<sup>1</sup> Attrib. by Bode and B. B.

<sup>2</sup> For full discussion of the various attributions of this painting, and the argument for Lo Spagna's authorship, see B. B., *Study and Crit.*, II, 1–22.

Fig. 58.



*Anderson.*

PERUGINO.

DELIVERY OF KEYS TO S. PETER.  
Page 158.

Sistine Chapel, Rome.

Fig. 59.



PERUGINO.

Pitti.

ENTOMBMENT.  
Page 159.

Fig. 60.



PERUGINO.

CRUCIFIXION,  
Page 159.

S. M. di Pazzi, Florence.



PERUGINO.

BRONZE.

Castello,  
Piemonte.

Fig. 53.



MANTOVA.

Page 180.

Piemonte.

Castello Mantua,

The school also includes the timid GERINO DA PISTOIA (first quarter of the sixteenth century), who may possibly have executed the exquisite *Cena di Foligno* (in the Via Faenza, Florence) in which the design is said to be Perugino's. Another is the versatile imitator of both Perugino and Raphael, EUSEBIO DI SAN GIORGIO, and still another, the feeble but not insensitive TIBERIO D'ASSISI, with frescoes of a soft warm tone and some descriptive interest, in S. M. degli Angeli, in the valley below Assisi. The later Perugineschi who also imitate Raphael's mature style seem vainly attempting to fill old bottles with new wine, as the two ALFANI, PARIS and DOMENICO, and the more versatile ORAZIO ALFANI. But occasionally one discovers works by obscure followers of Perugino in the smaller towns of Umbria, which have individual charm, and show a mingling of influences. A few such masters have been identified: for example, DOMENICO PECORI, at Arezzo; but their appeal is only to the special erudition of the scholar.

## VI

PINTORRICCHIO<sup>1</sup>

1454-1513

The winning art of Bernardino di Betto, called Pintorricchio, a pupil of Fiorenzo, is complementary to that of Perugino, and almost exhausts the native Umbrian ideals, which were so soon to expand under the impact of Raphael's style. Pintorricchio's career was one of constant activity. His bottega poured forth altarpieces; he was assisted by a large school of followers, and he was constantly sought for important fresco commissions. In these he was the entrepreneur—the director—and it becomes a nice piece of criticism to distinguish his hand from that of the bottega.

We know practically nothing of his early life, and little of any of it, except from his works. A native of Perugia, his work for his first twenty-five years was confined to Central Italy—Perugia, Spello, Siena—and, as was natural, it is mainly altarpieces. Then (1480-1483) came his collaboration with

<sup>1</sup> We in general follow *Pintorricchio*, by Ricci, for attributions and dates; but cf. C. & C.



Perugino in the Sistine Chapel in Rome, and immediately after (1483-4) his first large independent fresco series in the Church of the Ara Coeli (Rome), and his continuous employment in the Papal city as a decorator for twenty-five years thereafter, up to 1509, within four years of his death. Interspersed with these Roman works were frescoes at Orvieto (1492 and 1496), and Spoleto (1497), and Assisi (1500), and Spello (1500 and 1507-8), and Siena (1504 and in 1505-7). Many of them are long series, involving many scenes. To these must be added the numerous panels and altarpieces which came from his studio, to understand the great business that he controlled. Although he thus sojourned largely in Rome from his twenty-fifth year, he kept a firm hold on his native city and province. In 1502 he was influencing the young Raphael in Perugia, after Perugino had left for Florence, and he lived much in Siena, where he had a house, and where he finally died and was buried, leaving wife and daughters. He is described as mean in appearance, and seems to have been sought as a workman rather than as a companion,<sup>1</sup> although he held the favour of courts and dignitaries, as well as that of the popular taste.

The standard for his early style is set by the *Holy Family and Little S. John* (Siena). The frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Journey of Moses*, show the interrelation with Perugino and the influence of Fiorenzo, in the reserved design, careful drawing, and beautiful landscape, and though crowded, contain significant groups and portraiture. Those in the *Ara Coeli* (1483-1484) indicate him in the first years of his independence. They fail in unity and repose, but show a more individual expression, with some passages of romantic invention, as in the *Saint in the Desert*, where the painting is broad and the landscape originally treated. The *Borgia Apartments* (1492-4) show him, at forty, satisfying the taste of a luxurious court. The frescoes in the *Collegiata*, Spello (Baglione Chapel, 1500-1501),<sup>2</sup> a few years later, have gracious humanity, and illustrate better the master's native temper. And still further the delightful portraits of *Alberto Arringieri* (1504), in the Cathedral of Siena, should be studied as examples

<sup>1</sup> For docs., etc., see Ricci, *op. cit.*, 234.

<sup>2</sup> "Some help from pupils," Ricci, 239.

of Pintorricchio's serious best. The lavish decorations of the *Siena Cathedral Library* (1503-8) represent a lower ideal more on a par with the Borgia apartments. They entertain, but hardly exhibit either refinement or a creative gift. And finally we have his last large decoration—the vaulting of the *Choir of S. M. del Popolo*, Rome (1505), executed while Michelangelo and Raphael were beginning their works in the Vatican.

We may best understand this brilliant artist by comparing two very perfect examples—the very early *Crucifixion with SS. Jerome and Christopher*, in the Borghese,<sup>1</sup> and his latest signed work, the *Christ Bearing the Cross* (1513), in Milan. The *Crucifixion* is a test of connoisseurship. In externals it is close to Fiorenzo, but its spirit—fresh, dainty, facile, and superficial, yet full of charm—is Pintorricchio's. It is a marvel of craft and gay colour in Umbrian air and light. Pintorricchio is a splendid “little master,” whereas Fiorenzo is more robust and masculine. The *Christ Bearing the Cross* is an exceptional little masterpiece, luxuriant in every elaboration of beautiful and sensuous detail and of precious material beauty, in gem-like colour. It reproduces in Renaissance style the glow and scintillation, the exclusive finesse, of the Mediævalists. The story is completely told with a touch of mystery in sea and mountain. It is a pagan idyll on a votive theme, without real thought or broad design. In the two pictures there is the same exquisite and irresponsible spirit, and both are redolent of the artist's delight in his craft and fancy rather than in his theme. One has here all of Pintorricchio.

When Pintorricchio's talents expanded to vast enterprises of mural decoration he did not change his essential character. His wall-paintings are enlarged miniatures, dependent for beauty upon gay ornament and rich colour. His work, unless something more showy was expected of him, is often simple and lovely in feeling of line and colour and landscape, but too often it is redundant with stucco and embossed gold, and is marred by affected drawing, though at his worst he retains a sense of decorative effect. His altarpieces show little flexibility. The best of

<sup>1</sup> Attrib. to Fiorenzo by Venturi and others. First attrib. to Pintorricchio by Morelli. The grounds are a facile quality of drawing. Cf. *Adoration of the Magi* (Pitti), by Fiorenzo (B. B.), in this style, beautiful, better than Pintorricchio. Every virtue of Pintorricchio, except his personal charm, is implicit in Fiorenzo.



## SQUARCIONE<sup>1</sup>

1394-1474

PADUA, more than Venice, was open to the intellectual and artistic life of the rest of Italy; she had developed a great University, and had encouraged the literary life; she had invited the most celebrated artists of Florence to work for her;<sup>2</sup> yet she produced no important artist before Squarcione, and he is important rather from his impress upon others than from any work of his own. The Florentine artists had awakened the local masters to the deficiencies of the North Italian style—its ultra-conservatism of design and exotic motives.

Francesco Squarcione, the son of a Paduan notary, was at first a tailor and embroiderer by trade; but he early devoted himself to his natural passion for art of the new classic and naturalistic mode. He seems to have travelled extensively in the East, and to have collected examples of the antique with which, when he finally settled in Padua again, he incited and taught the numerous pupils and assistants that he gathered about him. We conceive of him as an enthusiastic collector and pioneer, of personal force of character, who expounded to his countrymen the new thought, and developed a manner which they understood and accepted once for all. After him there is no return to old forms.

The fundamental character of Squarcione's style is the complete rejection of Byzantine and Gothic motives, and a conscious

<sup>1</sup> Authorities: Testi, *Stor. d. Pit. Venez.*, I, 428-44, with references to original sources: for school of Squarcione, 444-52; Kristeller; P. Selvatico, *Scritti d'Arte*, Florence, 1859, gives docs. concerning Squarcione; Scardeone, *Squarcione*, is a source, cited by C. & C., *N. It.*, I, 297 n. The traditional biography by Vasari is largely confirmed by docs. There are numerous doc. notices of Squarcione; best account is given by Selvatico; for docs. more recent than Selvatico, see P. Kristeller, *Francesco Squarcione e le sue relazioni con Andrea Mantegna*, *Rass. d'A.*, IX, No. 10, IV-V; abundant evidence of his activity as a director of a bottega in docs., and in extant pictures signed by artists as his scholars. For interesting analysis of Paduan design, see Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 10-11. The altarpiece, *S. Jerome and SS.*, Padua, is perhaps a bottega work (see C. & C., and B. B., *List*), but not representative of the normal art of the school.

<sup>2</sup> Uccello, while Donatello was in Padua (Vas.); Fra Fil. Lippi, 1434 (doc.); Donatello, 1443-1453.

acceptance of the spirit of the Florentine Renaissance. Both ancient Roman and Florentine sculpture were studied; the last, in Donatello and his school, being at once a classical revival and a naturalistic art.<sup>1</sup>

Squarcione had a greater personal influence than is accounted for by his extant works. No painting by him is certainly authenticated; but the *Madonna of the Lazzaro Family* (Berlin)<sup>2</sup> is now generally accepted as his. This work, when taken with the whole output of the school, is significant of the change introduced into North Italian painting. The ornamental accessories are motives due to the sculptors of Florence, and are repeated constantly in Paduan painting and in the dependent schools. We have here the point of departure for Mantegna, Crivelli, and Bartolommeo Vivarini. The picture has therefore great importance as linking Florentine to North Italian design. The figure drawing in details is faulty and awkward, always a characteristic of the school, except in Mantegna and Pizzolo; yet the effect of the whole is superior to any example of Squarcione's secondary followers, and places him as a master of some real talent. This style—especially as carried on by the personal genius of Mantegna—immediately had a profound influence on surrounding schools, as those of Verona and Ferrara; and the influence naturally travelled to Venice.

### BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI

Active, 1450–1499

With Antonio da Murano the Mediæval impulse had exhausted itself in Venice. In his brother Bartolommeo we feel the new spirit of Renaissance naturalism. Bartolommeo Vivarini still conserved the early Muranese traditions of religious painting, retaining in general to the end the separation of the panels in his altarpieces, yet he is distinctly individual and progressive. From his early traditional manner he gradually emerges into the

<sup>1</sup> See Bode, *It. Plastik*, for Donatello list.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pisanello's symbolic halo of clouds in *Madonna, etc., in a Mantoria, etc.*, London. Described and restoration noted by C. & C.; except in landscape seems much retouched; signature considered genuine and style sufficiently satisfactory by most modern critics; C. & C. suggest Mantegna's authorship; no modern critic agrees with them. Morelli, III, 97, doubts the signature and ascribes the picture to Greg. Schiavone.

greater freedom of his mature period, when he indicates an understanding of the oil painting introduced by Antonello da Messina.<sup>1</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle suppose a period of travel and contact with other schools between his early tutelage in Murano and his partnership with his older brother Antonio. It is generally agreed that he either studied in Padua or adopted Paduan draughtsmanship—first perhaps from Squarcione, and afterwards from Mantegna or Pizzolo—as may be seen in his severe figures, long proportions, often exaggerated articulations, and classical draperies. The studied and awkward drawing of his Christ-Child type, especially in early works, is Squarcionesque. On the other hand, the Paduan decorative features—Roman wreaths, etc.—seldom appear, and the backgrounds are usually simple, without landscape. His sobriety contrasts with Crivelli's exuberance, and with the picturesque motives of descriptive artists as Gentile Bellini. After 1457 we find him working independently of Antonio under the name of Vivarini; and although in his later years there is some inflexibility and hardening of style and feeling, his general richness of expression and robust characterisation, typical yet individual, make him the central painter of the school, and by virtue of his qualities as both a great painter and great teacher he finally succeeded to its leadership.

### ANTONELLO DA MESSINA<sup>2</sup>

c. 1430-1479

Contemporary with Bartolommeo there came into the field of Venetian art two other strong personalities—Antonello da Messina and Carlo Crivelli.

<sup>1</sup> As in the *Altarpiece*, 1473, S. M. Formosa.

<sup>2</sup> See Testi, Morelli, C. & C., *N. It.* (edit. 1912). Also N. Scalia, *Rass. d'Arte*, Oct., Nov., 1913.

See also Gioacchino di Marzo, *Di Antonello da Messina, etc.*, and authoritative *Review* by W. H. J. Weale, *Burl. Mag.*, V, 321, from which the following notes are taken. Ant. da Messina, b. at Messina about 1430; may have visited Rome about 1450, and may have met Roger d. l. Pasteur there; must have sojourned in Flanders in order to have learnt the Netherlandish methods so thoroughly (Fry, *Review of Mr. Frick's Antonello*, *Bull. Metrop. Mus.*, II, 199, agrees); 1455, back in Messina; c. 1457, married; 1461, 1462, and 1464, in Messina; 1472 and 1473, in Sicily; 1474, at Venice; 1476 (March), went to Milan by invitation of the Duchess Bianca Maria, and returned to Venice; 1477, at Messina until death in 1479. His son a master painter, 1479. See also L. Vent. for his mention in docs. from 1455-1479, and as being in Venice in 1474.

In Antonello da Messina we see a remarkable figure who was not the product of any of the forces we have been considering, and who had a preponderating influence over his generation. He first appears in Venice about 1470, and he had an extraordinary effect on both the Vivarini and the Bellini.<sup>1</sup> Apparently a Sicilian, his early training, judging from technique, was certainly Flemish, and it is assumed that he introduced painting in oils into Venice; yet he is more Italian than northern.<sup>2</sup> He adopted a technique from others; his quality was his own. He was a unique artist, part mystic, part literalist, a little inscrutable, of narrow scope, but of great force. In his portraits and in certain religious pictures<sup>3</sup> the effect is not of detail but of simplified form and of an amazing characterisation, a psychological insight and its ruthless presentation—very earnest, intensely alive and tangible. The technical means, which may lack refinement, are forgotten. We care for nothing but the image itself. Antonello accepts the facts of life as he sees them, and presents them sheerly. He is ascetic in some work, probably early, but he is always superb in breadth of treatment, in design, and in tone.<sup>4</sup> We cite two examples. The *Calvary* at Antwerp exhibits a realism that is very interesting in its disregard for beauty, especially in the two thieves, although the landscape is exquisite, large, and rich. His London *Christ on the Cross* (1465), on the other hand, is marvellous for its solemn sweetness. We feel the dignity of the figure upon the cross, the isolation of the watchers, the desolation of the solitary place, the peace lying over the scene.

We now turn to Crivelli, the other extraordinary painter already named.

<sup>1</sup> See a *Pietà*, Munich, attrib. to Basaiti, impressive and important in itself, which shows Antonello's influence. L. Vent. treats him as the head and front of the later Muranese. An imitator of Antonello is Antonello da Saliba (da Messina). For him see E. Brunelli, *L'Arte*, IX, 357-71.

<sup>2</sup> Antonello's *Christ*, London, is of Flemish type.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Virgin of the Annunciation* (Palermo), or the *Christ at the Column*, Venice.

<sup>4</sup> His tone seems to affect Alv. Vivarini. See Fry's art., *op. cit.*, in n. 1, on Mr. Frick's *Deposition*, for religious aspect of Antonello's art. See Antonello's *Ecce Homo*, Schickler coll., Paris, reprod. *L'Arte*, XI, opp. p. 444.

CARLO CRIVELLI<sup>1</sup>

1440?—after 1493

The early art of Venice ends logically with Carlo Crivelli, the most brilliant master of the Murano school. Of the external facts of his life we know little. There is a long series of dated pictures by him extending from 1468 to 1493. He signs himself continually as Venetian, and clearly belongs to the Muranese group; <sup>2</sup> but he also early shows preponderating Paduan influence, and while still on the verge of manhood he began work in the Marches of Umbria, where he lived in one town or another almost continually till his death. He seems to have interested himself somewhat in the complicated politics of the region, and from 1490 he signs himself knight ("Miles")—an honour bestowed by Ferdinand II of Naples, perhaps for some support of his interests in the border town of Ascoli.

His art once started is strangely isolated. Set in a land barren in native art expression, practically without rivals, touching only casually the comparatively uninteresting early Umbrian school, his own dominant and intensive genius proceeded on its way to its logical conclusions, neither influenced nor influencing greatly, and leaving no permanent school. In form, Crivelli is conservative, and exhausts the final phase of Mediævalism in Venice. Yet within his narrow limits he is inventive, versatile, and searching. He has at bottom the classical instinct for form, and in craftsmanship he is among the greatest masters. He belongs both to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In his ascetic feeling, his intimate portrayal of the ugly (which his art makes beautiful), his clinging to old forms of thought, he is still mediæval; in his searching characterisations from life, in his scientific interest in tendons and muscles (albeit often incorrectly drawn) he is of the Renaissance. In ornamentation it is the same; in one work or another there is both Gothic and Renaissance architectural detail, raised ornament and Renaissance brocades, gold back-

<sup>1</sup> The standard monograph for Crivelli is Rushforth.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of actual signature: "Carolus Crivellus Venetus pinsit" (Rushforth, 85), "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti" (p. 86), "Carolus Crivellus Venetus Miles pinxit M.CCC.LXXXIII" (p. 107), and others. Whether his actual teacher was Antonio of Murano, as seems most probable, or another, matters little. Antonio's Parenzo *Altarpiece* indicates an influence, at least, upon Crivelli.



grounds and blue skies with misty clouds, and Paduan fruit garlands. Whatever the subject, his detail is vivacious and entertaining, and he has a Venetian instinct for colour.

There are about fifty existing works by Crivelli, mostly signed and beyond question, and showing steady growth in power. The *Virgin and Child with Putti holding Instruments of the Passion*, in Verona, is an immature, even a boyish work, timid in drawing and modelling, though the whole design is delightful in pattern, the landscape well ordered, and the execution achieved. Squarcione's influence is certain, either direct or through some scholar—like Gregorio Schiavone.<sup>1</sup> In fact Crivelli is more Paduan here than later on. The influence of Antonio or Giovanni of Murano seems certain from later works, and here it may appear, together, however, with an indefinable charm and freshness—an originality—that we miss in the Vivarini. In the *Virgin and Child* (1472, Benson Collection) Crivelli reveals himself as a great painter. The picture is simple, and somewhat constrained in linear design; there is an affectation in the pose and hands which Crivelli never quite conquered, and there is lack of solid figure construction; but in the *Virgin* he achieves Renaissance characterisation comparable to the very best in Venetian art—a superb conception. The picture is decorative in spacing and colour, in the long sweep of the figures, and in the pattern of the amazingly effective drapery.

Great variety is possible to him within narrow range, as in the *Madonna Panels* (of the early seventies) which are often very quiet in design, yet of subtle and individual beauty. This variety is also true of the single figures of saints which often seem repetitions, yet are really never twice alike; at first sight offensively ascetic, in the end they show us a fine humanity. The same appears in his series of *Pietàs*, a simple motive played upon with infinite variety; their repellent awfulness—overstrained to our modern taste—gradually shows forth to us tender and solemn mystery.<sup>2</sup> Another phase, less serious, is illustrated in the *S. George and the Dragon* (predella, London), which suggests mediæval prototypes as well as Carpaccio's romantic vein. But there are few examples of such picturesque

<sup>1</sup> Notice Padua in garlands, musical angels, clouds, tree and marble surfaces, half-classic putti; see Gent. da Fabriano in the distance of Calvary; and a suggestion of Pisanello in the cock and tufts of grass.

<sup>2</sup> The *Crucifixion*, Brera, should be compared for types with these *Pietàs*.

or fanciful episodes, and while they are of great interest and charm, his typical Madonnas and altarpieces exhibit as fine an invention and more perfect control.<sup>1</sup>

With his later years Crivelli tends to elaboration, and there is some unevenness of quality, though even then he is sincere and effective; and in the altarpiece *Madonna and Child giving the Keys to S. Peter*, in Berlin, one of the most magnificent of his later works, the old Gothic form has become simplified, to the great improvement of monumental effect; we have here one of the finest achievements of the master.

### JACOPO BELLINI<sup>2</sup>

Active 1430-1470

While the Venetian school of Murano was thus drawing to completion, a new direction was given to the art of Venice itself by the great contemporaries of the Vivarini—the Bellini: Jacopo, the founder of the school, and his two sons, Gentile and Giovanni. These represent the central movement of the 15th century in Venice which finally determined the character of Venetian Renaissance painting.

We know of Jacopo Bellini (Jacopo di Niccolo Bellini) as a notable painter and director of a bottega in Venice; as starting with the early 15th-century Venetian mediæval inheritance, but as taught and inspired by Gentile da Fabriano<sup>3</sup> and Pisanello; as travelling and working in North Italy, in Verona, in Ferrara, and even as far away as Florence; and as receiving commissions in Padua<sup>4</sup> which held him in residence for some years. There he was in intimate contact with the Squarcione school; his son Giovanni grew up in boyish intimacy with

<sup>1</sup> For this see *Madonna and SS.*, 1482, Milan, illus. Rushforth, 60.

<sup>2</sup> See Gronau's studies on Jacopo, Gentile, Giovanni: the most authoritative yet written. See also A. Venturi, *G. da Fab. and Pisan.*; L. Venturi, 118-55; R. Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 7-9, brief estimate, and in *Monthly Review*, IV, July, 86-97. See also Ludwig and Molmenti. For Jac. Bellini's drawings we follow Goloubew, *Les Dessins de Jac. Bellini au Louvre*. C. Ricci has also published these drawings. There are official records of Jac. Bellini from 1424, when he is named as executor in the will of his father; to 1469, when he is named as trying to collect certain dues; and 1471, when his widow makes a will, L. Vent., 121-3.

<sup>3</sup> From inscription once in Verona Cathedral. L. Venturi minimises the relation. L. Vent., 120-1.

<sup>4</sup> For extensive *Frescoes* in the Santo.

Squarcione's protégé, Mantegna, an intimacy which later bore fruit in the genius of both artists. Expanding under these various influences, Jacopo, by his influence, especially upon his two famous sons, and probably upon Mantegna, directed the energies of the time into fresh channels.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, of his many paintings few remain; the numerous decorative pictures have disappeared, and can be imagined only from drawings. His easel pictures are reduced to a scant dozen, and in these the execution is good rather than brilliant; but what counts is the quality of his mind, his dignity, his apprehension of nature, his freedom. A sympathetic interpreter may feel his various stages of growth, notably in the few scattered Madonna panels which show stages between his earliest antiquated conception at Venice through a period of Gentilesque ascendancy and imitation of Pisanello. They are gracious and easy, with a simplicity and true feeling for form lacking to Gentile's exotic talent; they are more serious, less ornamental.

But we cannot linger over these and other minor works. Two precious records remain which fully attest the greatness of the master—the *Sketch Books* at London and Paris.<sup>2</sup> Here Jacopo's genius discloses itself—the descriptive motives forecasting the vein of his son Gentile and of Carpaccio, the receptivity, invention, and fertility; the competence in execution, which mark him a great teacher and leader.

<sup>1</sup> Mantegna is said to have borrowed the design of his *Gethsemane*, London, from a drawing by Jac. Bellini. Cf. Fry, *G. Bell.*, 19, and Richter. L. Venturi feels a different inspiration in Jacopo from that of Padua and Squarcione. Fry suggests that Jacopo's classic inspiration came at least indirectly from contact with the ducal courts of the Marches. Jacopo's wife was from Pesaro.

<sup>2</sup> *London Sketch Book*: early, size 41 × 34 centimetres. On p. 1 is written in 15th c. characters, "De mano de messer iacobo bellino veneto 1430 in venetia" (by the hand of messer jacopo bellino of venice 1430 in venice). Probably this was the book which was bequeathed by Gentile Bellini to his brother Giovanni, and which was seen in the Vendramin house by the Anonimo. Early in the 19th c. it was in the possession of the Mantovani family, and it was bought by the British Museum. For the above and a further account, see L. Vent., 131.

*Louvre Sketch Book*=quarto, 30 × 44 centimetres; its binding dates from 15th c., or at latest from beginning of 16th c., possibly from the time of Jacopo himself. Discovered in a château of Guyenne (previous history unknown); was acquired by the Louvre in 1884. There are ninety-three drawings, all but one (which is on paper), on fine vellum. They are generally with pen or silverpoint, occasionally with brush or crayon, and occasionally with a tint of colour. It is of a later period than the London book.

For the above, and for a further account, see Goloubew.

For analysis we select the Louvre volume.<sup>1</sup> The subjects are mythological and religious—Calvaries and cupids; elaborate compositions and single figures, ornate architecture and distances of plains and rugged hills; groups of every age and sex, in every costume and action; armour, classic robes, tunics, turbans, the merest sketch, the most careful study; but all expressing the same spirit of genre naturalism; for example, the little urchins perched aloft to witness the *Flagellation* (X), the natural horses and hounds, chained bear and dwarf of *Herod's Palace* (XI), the delightful dragons, turtle, and rabbit of *S. Jerome* (XIV). The pages teem with self-revealing touches.

The traditional Venetian treatment may be seen in earlier work;<sup>2</sup> hints of Gentile da Fabriano are found in the *Adoration* (XXX), with its stretched-out procession of Eastern visitors and its costumed groups; and of Pisanello in the incidental appearance in almost every scene of entertaining animals; Altichieri gave his suggestions for the *Crucifixion*, II (XXXVI), with its compact band of onlookers, its pattern of banners and spears, city towers and uplifted cross, its balanced cloud-spots of angelic heads breaking the sky;<sup>3</sup> Padua and the antique appear in the architectural backgrounds with garlands and other ornament, the perspective and antique statues of *The Head of Hannibal presented to Brusias* (XL), and a *Study of Architecture* (XLI), in the humanistic inspiration of *Eros and Faun upon Pegasus* (XXXVIII), and in the tinted drawing of *S. Christopher*;<sup>4</sup> Donatello is seen in the rarely beautiful drawing of a *Youth* from an antique statue (LXXXI), and in *S. Eustache on a Charger* (XXXVII), recalling Donatello's statue of Gattamelata,<sup>5</sup> but set among strange rocks that remind one of Mantegna and his school. In one drawing appears a Giottesque composition of *S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (LXVII) combined with animals and winding roads of Pisanello and Gentile.

But we are especially concerned to find his impress on later art. Whatever he touches shows a virility and originality which

<sup>1</sup> The Roman numerals given refer to Goloubew's plates in *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See especially the London volume.

<sup>3</sup> See *Fresco* by Altichieri, Chapel of S. Felice, Padua, and comment by Goloubew.

<sup>4</sup> Reminding of Bono da Ferrara's *S. Christopher*, in the Eremitani, Padua. See Goloubew.

<sup>5</sup> Goloubew suggests that the *Crucifix*. (II) (LXXIX) recalls Donatello's bronze *Christ* at Padua (executed between 1443 and 1445). Donatello's *Crucifix*. at Florence seems more like Jacopo?

has the promise of something yet to come; and we have both his son Gentile and Carpaccio in the *Golgotha* (LVIII), with its bird's-eye view of a great concourse of people and its entertaining side groups; and a promise of Giovanni Bellini in the rarely delicate profile of a *Youth's Head*, with soft curly hair and reflective eye (XX); there seems to be the origin of Mantegna's engraving, *Combat of Tritons* in the *Procession of Bacchus* (XXXV); and the forerunner of Titian and Giorgione appears in the *S. George* (LXVIII), a single meditative mailed figure standing quiet, like S. Liberale in Giorgione's *Castelfranco Madonna*. The new quality of simple, direct naturalism, which perhaps is his most original trait, is seen in the *Studies of Lions* (from a ducal menagerie?) (LXXVII), *Dogs* (XCI), and other animals in every posture of action and repose, and in the charming water-colour drawing of an *Iris* (LVII), life-size, which for naturalism might be taken from the portfolio of any modern painter. But every drawing has its interest.

Jacopo was much more than a forerunner. He far outstrips Squarcione in personal value. His art is beautiful in itself. Its influence upon others was because of its validity, and because of its potential capacity for development into an adequate expression of the modern Venetian spirit.

### ANDREA MANTEGNA<sup>1</sup>

1431-1506

From the time of Jacopo, the Venetian school developed in orderly sequence into the full expression given by Giorgione and Titian and their associates of the High Renaissance. At Padua, on the other hand, Squarcione's art takes on significance only through the genius of his pupil Mantegna, whose personality is the centre of the whole movement, and through whom it must be approached.

Andrea Mantegna, born in Vicenza,<sup>2</sup> was brought up in

<sup>1</sup> Authorities: Testi, *Stor. d. Pitt. Venez.*, I, 444-53 ff.; Cruttwell; Kristeller, *Mantegna*, is the most exhaustive monograph. For analysis of change in Mantegna's style and of Jac. Bellini's influence, see L. Vent., 162 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For refer. to doc., see Crutt., 17, n. 2. His father was called "honoured Ser Biagio." Crutt., p. 3. See Vasari's statement of Mantegna's humble origin. Adopted by Squarcione when ten years old. The reasons not known. He signed himself as from Padua, almost to the end of his life.

Fig. 65.



*Anderson*

S. JAMES BEFORE THE P.

Page 180.

Eremitani, Padua,

MANTEGNA.

Fig. 64.



ALTARPIECE,

Page 180.

S. Zeno, Verona.

MANTEGNA.

Fig. 65.



MANTEGNA.

S. GEORGE.

Academy, Venice.

Padua as Squarcione's adopted son, and learned from him his craft. When Jacopo Bellini set up his rival bottega in Padua, Mantegna quickly responded to the more spontaneous art of the Venetian master. He became intimate with the family, and before 1453 he had married Jacopo's daughter Nicolosia.<sup>1</sup> Yet neither this intimacy nor his connection with Squarcione prevented the growth of his independent genius. In 1455 he separated himself from the Squarcione bottega, and thenceforth pursued his own way. Commissions poured in. The Duke of Mantua, Ludovico Gonzaga, a connoisseur and patron of the arts as well as an enlightened ruler, urged his removal to his court, then one of the most cultivated in Italy, and after continued persuasion Mantegna, when about twenty-eight years old, took up his abode in Mantua.<sup>2</sup> Here the painter shared the habits of a truly regal court. He assisted in pageants, decorated palaces, painted court portraits. He himself set up an establishment fit for the society he kept, and we have the record of his collections of antiques and other *objets d'art*. We hear of many flattering offers, of a visit to Bologna, and one to Pisa, of a few months spent in Florence (in 1466).<sup>3</sup> Lorenzo di Medici, passing through Mantua in 1483, honoured him with a call. The painter's position was little affected by the death of the old Marquis in 1478, and by that of his successor, Federigo, in 1484, and the accession of the boy, Gianfrancesco. On the alliance of this young Marquis with the d'Este family, Mantegna was called upon to decorate the nuptial chamber with wall-paintings that stand as the greatest monument to his matured genius. The young bride, Isabella d'Este, herself greatly endowed with mind and taste, became a patron. And so time passed, ever bringing fresh opportunities and fresh laurels. When fifty-seven years old, Mantegna yielded to the repeated invitation of the Pope (Innocent VIII) and visited Rome, where he spent two years (1488-1490). But after that he continued his residence in Mantua, and died there in 1506 at the age of seventy-five.<sup>4</sup> There are flaws in the tale—certain

<sup>1</sup> For refer. to doc., see Crutt., 17, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The date is uncertain, probably about 1459. The letters of the Duke to Mantegna, urging his coming, cease in that year; see Crutt., p. 20. Then, or a little later, Gonzaga had intimate family connections with the dukedoms of Ferrara, Urbino, and Milan.

<sup>3</sup> Donatello was still living in Florence; Uccello was in his prime; Filippo Lippi had just finished the work at Prato.

<sup>4</sup> In 1492 he sold his old house in Padua, which till then he had retained.



financial anxieties, an unworthy son, the indifference at the last of his lordly patrons. But to the end he retained his high renown, and was finally buried with honour in the chapel that he had himself prepared.<sup>1</sup>

Mantegna is not only the greatest Paduan master. He was the most influential Early Renaissance artist in North Italy, very influential even in Venice itself. By his classical spirit and by his foreshadowing of High Renaissance richness of composition he no doubt helped to form Giorgione and Titian.<sup>2</sup>

Mantegna's work may be divided into three periods: 1. That of his youth in Padua, to his twenty-eighth year; 2. That in Mantua before the Roman visit, some thirty years; and 3. That of the later Mantuan work after he had visited Rome.

His earliest known work of importance is the *S. Luke Altarpiece* in the Brera, painted when he was but twenty-three years old, and still with Squarcone (1454). This, with three others,<sup>3</sup> holds much the same relation to North Italian painting that the frescoes of Masaccio hold to Florentine painting. They establish a standard. The Brera *Altarpiece* is a polyptych with S. Luke writing his Gospel for the central motive, and eleven other figures. The old Muranese scheme remains—that is, separate panels with single figures, gold backgrounds, and the hieratic proportion of the central figure. The ornament of Squarcone is suppressed. The two bishop-saints recall Giovanni and Antonio Vivarini—what other types were there of appropriate style?—but the mediæval feeling is changed, the figures are posed as for one design. In the *Pietà* there is a hint of grouping. With all the severity of the best Byzantine models, every figure is instinct with contemporary life. This is in part due to a sculpturesque regard for form, derived, no doubt, from Roman sculpture and inspired by Donatello. The drawing is masterly, the design classic, the figures noble and beautiful in contour, with a classical ordering of simple draperies, and beneath the serene imagery lies a strange glow, even a

<sup>1</sup> Chapel in the Church of S. Andrea, Mantua, owned and the decoration designed by Mantegna, and finished after his death by his sons.

<sup>2</sup> See his influence, among others, upon Bonsignori, Liberale, Francesco Caroto, all of Verona, Montagna and Fogolino of Vicenza, Bramantino of Milan, the miniaturist Girolamo (of Cremona), and Correggio. Cf. Tura. See Bartolommeo, *Polyptych*, 1464, and Alvise Vivarini, *Altarpiece*, 1480.

<sup>3</sup> *S. Euphemia*, Naples; *Altarpiece*, S. Zeno, Verona; *Eremitani Frescoes*, Padua.

dramatic fire. The picture is a landmark. The same year, in *S. Euphemia* at Naples, the votive figure becomes of high statuesque beauty.

A little later we find the master in a lyrical mood in the great *S. Zeno Altarpiece* at Verona (1457-1459), another landmark in painting. The chief motive is human and joyous—the gentle dignity of the Mother, the gracious reserve of childhood, the power of the attendant figures. The composition, scarcely broken by the division into panels, leads the eye to the Madonna richly enthroned in the centre. Behind the architectural setting stretches a distant landscape and sky with strange clouds reminiscent of the Squarcione manner, and the loaded fruit-garlands, the sculptured medallions and frieze, the cherubs about the throne, the Renaissance ornament, perhaps a little over-emphasized, are Paduan or like Donatello, but treated with a new order and beauty. The folds of drapery are sculpturesque, but not merely that—they are drawn and accented as a part of an exquisitely wrought design. Even more may be said of the predella: the *Calvary* of the Louvre (one of the three scattered parts) shows a still more enlarged conception. It is conceived with austerity in an idealized landscape, yet a tangible world is presented, and the very concreteness of the motives serves to express an imagined, a spiritual vision. No earlier existing religious pictures of North Italy can rival in originality and force this *Calvary* and its companion *Panels* in the Museum at Tours.

THE EREMITANI FRESCOS.—But of all Mantegna's early works the *Frescoes* in a chapel of the Eremitani in Padua most clearly reveal his character—its intensity, its earnestness, its search after reality. The decoration of the chapel had apparently been entrusted to the Squarcione school. The ceiling and part of the wall are painted by other scholars of Squarcione.<sup>1</sup> Only six of the wall frescoes are by Mantegna, but these entirely outclass their neighbours. The design is original, and unfolds from one scene to the next.<sup>2</sup> The landscape effects are superb as decorative material. The classicalism and the Squarcionesque wreaths and putti, though more insistent than in the maturer work at

<sup>1</sup> Pizzolo; Bono da Ferrara; Ansuino da Forlì. For opinions on the date of Mantegna's share of this series, see Kristeller. *C. & C.*, and B. B., *N. It.*, give the date as between 1454-1459. L. Vent., 160, gives its commencement as 1448.

<sup>2</sup> See Crutt., 49-56, for detailed discussion of this growth.

Mantua, become accidents of his time and school as compared to the essential classic spirit shown in the comprehensive design, the largeness of forms, the sense for the realities of nature; there is even outspoken portraiture. The work is at times too studied, as in the *tour de force* in perspective of *S. James Led to Execution*. No mere naturalism appears; the Italian arcade and trellis, the accidental groups of onlookers, the stratified rocks curving in ordered sweeps, or the twisted Dolomitic peaks, rather give a summing up of qualities the master found in nature—solidity, spaciousness among other things.<sup>1</sup> Showing the same quality is the head of *Cardinal Scarampi* in the Berlin Gallery, one of the world's masterpieces of portraiture.<sup>2</sup> It was directly after these triumphs that Mantegna accepted the call to Mantua (probably in 1459). From the earlier years there, date various panels. One executed soon after his arrival—the *S. George* now in the Venice Academy—is classic in the statuesque grace of the figure, together with its superb life and youth, and in the linear pattern adapted to its space. In another panel, the wonderful little *Infancy of Jesus*, of Fenway Court, we have deep human feeling, prefiguring Giorgione's intimate and aristocratic conception of such themes. The holy women are contemporary types, the landscape reveals nature, and there is a certain romantic fire.

MANTUA FRESCOES.—Passing by other choice little works,<sup>3</sup> we must discuss the great *Frescoes* of the marriage chamber of the young Gianfrancesco and Isabella d'Este, executed some fifteen years after his arrival (1474). The walls are covered with scenes depicting events in the Gonzaga family, giving opportunity to portray the characters of its important members.<sup>4</sup> There is, for instance, a family conclave to receive an ambassador in regard to an alliance by marriage; the welcome to a distinguished son, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga; horse and dogs gathered for the hunt; the spirit of a vital race is here—of the actual Gonzaga men and women who, for all their faults, were earnest and sane.

<sup>1</sup> These rocks come in part from mediæval backgrounds; in part, no doubt, from the formation of hills of the Veneto, as near Brescia.

<sup>2</sup> For date, see Crutt., 57, quoting B. B., *Lotto* (1901), 42. Reprod., Crutt., frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> As the perfect Uffizi triptych.

<sup>4</sup> To identify portraits consult Crutt., 66-9. Cf. with Melozzo's group of *Sixtus IV and his Nephews* (Vat.), and cf. the scene of the Duke's charger and dogs with Van Dyke.

The scenes make no boastful display. They seem to symbolise family nobility and its appurtenances in general. The ceiling is covered with arabesques and "Putti," and through a central circle open to blue sky peer with joyous abandon the merry faces of familiar court attendants. This is a prototype of all modern ceiling decoration in this kind from Correggio and Veronese to Baudry.<sup>1</sup> The technical problem of wall decoration has been perfectly understood. It is a consummate masterpiece.

TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR.—On his return from Rome Mantegna finished the *Triumph of Cæsar*, which was planned and well advanced many years before. This is a series of nine large canvases representing a continuous procession, part of which we hear of as used at one time as background for the stage of the court theatre, and as exciting the greatest interest and comment. It seems intended to display the grandeur of the ancient Roman world, which had so absorbed the imagination of the time. It represents every phase of an imperial triumph. Trumpeters are followed by the Roman standards, the gods of conquered peoples, wagons of instruments of war, trophies and other treasure, captured elephants in rich trappings, pathetic groups of prisoners, and at last the conquering Julius Cæsar himself in his chariot. The background is partly of hilly landscape, partly of architecture relieving the pattern made by spears and emblems. The movement is solemn, yet richly diversified and full of incident. We do not feel it to be archaistic, but rather simple and real as well as serene and decorative; and it retains a majesty of design which repainting has not destroyed.

After the Roman visit external classicism plays a larger part in Mantegna's compositions, but in one picture of the period, the *Madonna of Victory* (Louvre), the various tendencies hitherto found in the artist's work are brought together in mature expression. We see them in the early hieratic types repeated in the two background figures; in the young hero-saints at the sides; in the children; and in the mellow charm of the Madonna; in the portrait figures of Gonzaga and his kinswoman; in the trellised bower and exquisitely wrought folds of drapery. All is conceived in a truly classic spirit, seen in its rhythm and vigorous grace, in the adjustments of pattern, the refinement of execution combined with vital human feeling. There are other

<sup>1</sup> The modern French decorator.

interesting works in this last period—simple endearing Madonnas and pictures with many outward classical resemblances; among them the *Allegories*<sup>1</sup> for Isabella d'Este's study, and the mythological engravings; but these are less successful than the simpler works. In spite of Mantegna's intellectual appreciation of the classic, myth had less meaning for him than subjects related to contemporary experience. Yet if the immediate inspiration is not so great, the *Parnassus* is absolutely new in its circling figure motives and its union of classical form with romantic imagination.

Mantegna was a master of colour in different keys—colour brilliant and quiet. Even in those early frescoes which seem to depend least upon colour, it really pervades the whole composition as an essential part of the tone, and is vital to the whole effect.

In estimating Mantegna, external influences cannot be wholly neglected. He must have felt the literary and scholastic tone of Padua; his love of ornamental detail was natural in the Squarcione environment; the work of the old Venetian school was familiar to him; the ancient frescoes by Altichieri and Avanzi were at hand; the great creations of Giotto in the Arena Chapel formed an open school; Uccello and Lippi surely left an influence, seen at least in foreshortening and the study of nature; Donatello (in Padua from 1443–1453) had placed before all eyes a modern interpretation of the antique; and evidently Jacopo Bellini suggested much during his years of residence. But making all allowance for influence, Mantegna's genius stands unexplained. The depth of his conceptions, his intimate characterisations, his tenderness, his harmonious design, are his own personal qualities. There are limitations—an occasional archaistic note, an austerity—which are likely to blind us to the artist's human feeling and his mystic imagination. But the union in him at his best of the classic and the mystic is a remarkable phenomenon. The very special quality of his nature perhaps is a certain unalterableness of personal conception, his study leading him to a deeper expression of what he himself, and he only, sees. This quality with his intellectuality allies him to Antonello da Messina and Crivelli and Piero della Francesca.

MINOR SQUARCIONESCHI.<sup>2</sup>—After Mantegna the ablest pupil

<sup>1</sup> For descriptions and names of personages, see Crutt., 94–7.

<sup>2</sup> For authorities, see p. 167, n. 1; for mention of still minor men, consult C. & C., *N. It.*, B. B., A. Venturi.

of Squarcione was COSIMO TURA, a great man whom we discuss later as the head of the school of Ferrara. NICCOLO PIZZOLO, a close pupil of Squarcione and an associate of Mantegna in the *Eremitani Frescoes*, died too young to leave more than the promise of a talent unfulfilled.<sup>1</sup> The same chapel holds works by two minor assistants, ANSUINO DA FORLI and BONO DA FERRARA, who show some observation of nature but almost no capacity for monumental design. Works by all these men are in various galleries and churches, but we have no space to discuss them, nor to discuss the many minor Squarcioneschi who might be named, nor the numerous unattributed works that show the mark of the school. It is sufficient to say that although the work of North Italy and of Murano was subject to Paduan influence in externals from about 1450 to the last decades of the century, the influence led to but partial and narrow developments: Bartolommeo Vivarini shows the contact in certain externals, but was really an independent spirit; Alvise escaped the Squarcione mode altogether; Crivelli, though showing the influence, transcended it; the Bellini owed little to it. After 1460 the peculiar Squarcionesque manner is almost wholly lost in the general characteristics leading toward the High Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> From about 1490-1500 the style of Giovanni Bellini became dominant over that of the Vivarini in Venice, and was imitated on the mainland.

That Mantegna made the real value of the Paduan movement we have already said. It was he who taught the later Venetians and inspired Tura. But he had no actual scholars except his two sons LUDOVICO and FRANCESCO who, except for the name, do not merit mention.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tura's relation to Squarcione is conjectural, yet evident from style. *Eremitani Frescoes* ascribed to Pizzolo by Morelli's Anonymo. It is possible to admit Pizzolo's influence on Mantegna (stated by B. B., *N. It.*, lists), as seen in the immature portions of these frescoes, without claiming for him any great share in Mantegna's development.

<sup>2</sup> For direct Squarcionesque influence upon Venice, see L. Vent., 170, who considers it considerable. Marco Zoppo was established in Venice for some time; Cosimo Tura probably lived there between 1453 and 1456. Squarcione himself was in Venice before 1466.

<sup>3</sup> Ludovico was held in esteem at the Mantuan Court, where he worthily assisted his father in the ceiling of the Camera degli Sposi. Francesco was long in disgrace and banished for misconduct. A series of three small *Pictures*, London, and two engravings, *Entombment* and *Descent from the Cross* (see Cruttwell), have been attributed to him. The technique is good, but they show no original talent.

GENTILE BELLINI<sup>1</sup>

1429-1507

During the years of Mantegna's independent career, the younger Bellini pursued their own course. After the finishing of the *Eremitani Frescoes* by the Squarcione school, and the pictures in the Santo by Jacopo, both in the same year (1459), the Bellini were speedily swept into the current of Venetian occupations. It is astonishing to find how quickly, after its long sluggishness, Venetian taste responded. Many forces had prepared the way for a breaking up of the old conservatism. The Venetians were learning that scientific values count; that their own life was interesting for art.

We have already seen that the seeds of two related but distinct schools may be found in Jacopo, and these found expression in his two sons. Gentile's vein, descriptive and incidental, exhausted itself in the next generation, while Giovanni became the sufficient master of the men who brought Venetian art to its climax a few years later.

Gentile Bellini, usually reputed the eldest son of Jacopo,<sup>2</sup> lived his long life mainly in Venice, except for the youthful years in Padua during his father's residence there, and except for a stay at Constantinople as Court painter to the Sultan (1479-1481).<sup>3</sup> His style more nearly approaches that of the older Venetians than does that of his greater brother Giovanni. He has traits in common with his younger contemporary and follower, Carpaccio, who by early training was closely allied to the old school.<sup>4</sup> Both were popular genre painters, and Gentile educated a body of followers who are to be distinguished from those of Giovanni especially by their interest in descriptive aspects of life. The more poetic temperaments found their way to Giovanni, the more prosaic to Gentile, while both bottegas encouraged the study of nature, and together composed the Bellini school. Gentile carries to a definite culmination the realistic tendency of Venetian painting, and especially the descriptive qualities of his

<sup>1</sup> See C. & C, *N. It.*; Gronau; L. Venturi; *Carpaccio*, by Ludwig and Molmenti; *Giov. Bellini*, by Fry.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 188 and *n.* 1.

<sup>3</sup> Venetian intimacy with Constantinople, the most splendid city of the world, had hardly been checked by the conquest by the Turks in 1453.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 186, *n.* 3.

Fig. 66.



ADORATION OF THE MAGI,  
Page 185.

GENTILE BELLINI,

*Alinari.*

Layard Collection, Venice



Fig. 67.



S. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.  
Page 187.

S. Giorgio di Schiavone, Venice.

CARACCIOLO.

father, Jacopo. He is very local, narrower, less ideal than his father and brother, or than Mantegna, and forecasts the material style of Bonifazio and the Bassani. Without the charm of Carpaccio, without the highest creative power, Gentile knew the external beauty of Venice and painted it completely. His early works, before his visit to Constantinople, show sturdy truth without much grace, as seen in the portrait of the *Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (Venice), in the magnificence of office—real and winning, yet angular and even odd; and again in the *Madonna* of the Mond collection (London)—realistic, full of character, yet lacking charm. But in his maturity his manner softened and enlarged. For instance, in the *Adoration of the Magi* (after 1480, Layard collection),<sup>1</sup> ease of composition appears in the procession winding from the hills and the groups in Oriental costumes, the low distance with lagoons, the bits of architecture, the sweep of sky and soft clouds are like Giorgione and Titian,<sup>2</sup> the Virgin and Child are lovely and tender, though the whole spirit is secular. Altogether the picture forms a landmark in Gentile's career, and even in Venetian painting.

The pageant subject is illustrated in the artist's most mature manner in the *Corpus Christi Procession* (1496). The symmetrical design is relieved by portrait spots and subtle curves in the procession, and by the architectural variety of the façade of S. Mark's. Another painting in kind is the *Miracle of the True Cross* (1500). It represents the miraculous recovery of a drowned person on the crowded canals of Venice by means of a relic of the true cross. It offers opportunity for incidental motives—in excited bystanders and concerned friends—for portraiture, for that sweep of spaces, distances, and architectural effects in which the artist delighted. The portraits in these pictures tell us much of Venetian character. They represent the rich bourgeois class with true sympathy and without flattery.

We feel Gentile an essential and great colourist. His colour in general is dependent on real textures, the beauty of surfaces in light—light on actual Venetian walls with their flat ornament and bricks—beauty of water, of costumes and stuffs, of flesh.

<sup>1</sup> By Gentile, in our opinion. Lud. and Mol., *Carpaccio, etc.*, question the attribution. The date because of motives derived from the Levant.

<sup>2</sup> Gentile seems to have helped to form Titian (see the *S. Peter Enthroned, etc.*, Antwerp) and Giorgione, p. 264, n. 2, on the genre side.

CARPACCIO<sup>1</sup>

Active 1478-1522

**Bastiani.**—With Gentile must be considered Carpaccio, the younger but more archaic leader in this phase of the Bellini movement. In introducing him, it is necessary to say a word of the slow-dying old Venetian school, which in the person of one of its painters, Carpaccio's first master, LAZZARO BASTIANI (c. 1425-1512), had a certain influence, at least in externals, even upon the followers of the Bellini. While the various extraneous stimulating and disintegrating forces were at work upon the Vivarini and Bellini, there still remained a residuum of the old Venetian school, the successors of Jacobello and Giambono, conservative painters who continued to find popular patronage. Among these were the Bastiani, a family of artist-artisans out of whose mediocrity arose one member, Lazzaro, who contributed to the growth of the Gentile-Carpaccio school.<sup>2</sup> There were others, mainly Lazzaro's pupils, in talent somewhat above their fellows, who, though a little apart from the main Bellini current, had still felt Jacopo.

But Lazzaro leads them all. There are some score of works of his own or from his bottega of which the earlier show characteristics of the old Venetian school and the later contain reminders of Carpaccio and Gentile. In such transitions it is difficult to affirm with certainty which is the originator of the new motives. It is a matter of discussion whether Bastiani originated the types used by both or whether in later life Carpaccio influenced him. Doubtless there was interchange of influence. That Carpaccio was the greater man indicates for him a leading share in the development. Yet Bastiani had too much force not to remain essentially independent, and the dates would permit either theory.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During 16th, 17th, 18th c., Carpaccio seems almost forgotten. His work received proper recognition only in the late 19th c.

<sup>2</sup> But lately known; works mainly in Mus. Civ., Venice, and in Vienna. See *Carpaccio*, Lud. and Mol., 8 (illus.), to whom is due the discovery of the historical importance of Bastiani. Lazzaro commissioned to paint many Doge's portraits, *ibid.*, 16; see also L. Vent. The colour improves in his latest works, which, according to one theory, may be influenced by Gentile and Carpaccio. An element in his work suggests a relation to the Vivarini. See among others, *Coronation of Virgin*, Bergamo; *Madonna*, Verona; *Madonna*, Redentore, Venice.

<sup>3</sup> The considerations adduced by Lud. and Mol., *Carpaccio, etc.*, and followed by L. Venturi, indicate Carpaccio as probably the pupil of Lazzaro

**Carpaccio.**—Of the life of Vittorio Carpaccio there is little to say except what is told by his works. He was of a middle-class Venetian family of artisans and tradesmen, respectable and active in bourgeois concerns, a family that was derived generations back from Dalmatia, and that in at least one branch seems to have been well-to-do and important. As a student he was instructed by Bastiani,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards followed Gentile Bellini.<sup>2</sup> Late in life he was evidently influenced by the Giovanni Bellini school;<sup>3</sup> and he painted in Venice itself or in the country round about. He was early employed in decorating with wall-paintings the halls of various *scuole*—those associations for mutual benefit, usually devoted to a special patron saint, which were so important an element in the happiness and prosperity of the middle classes of Venice. The first dated picture is for a *scuola*, and one commission of the sort followed another, each order involving a series of large wall-paintings, which though in name representing sacred stories with him became a transcript of the life of Venice—the pageants, the customs, the people. He became immensely popular. The work for the *scuole* was varied by many smaller works, and in 1507, he was painting wall-pictures for the ducal palace in company with Giovanni Bellini. In 1508 we hear of him as one of a committee, which includes Lazzaro Bastiani, to value Giorgione's paintings on the façade of the Fondaca dei Tedeschi. His greatest reputation was during these first ten years of the 16th century. But he belonged to a mode that was passing. Giovanni Bellini and his following were teaching the public new things, and after 1514 Carpaccio received no orders in Venice, although the outlying coasts still claimed his activities until his death in the twenties.

Bastiani. Carpaccio, in spite of his great talent, is less in the central current of Venetian art than Gentile. Gentile did away with the archaism of the earlier school, and in form and technique is quite close to modern art. He dominates the group, and both Bastiani and Carpaccio owe much to him. That they are probably his followers in decorative and descriptive ideals (as C. & C. and B. B. declare) is not inconsistent with their independence of his actual teaching. L. Vent., 306, sees in the last S. Ursula pictures a realism which he refers to the influence of Gentile.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 186, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This, based only on internal evidence, is denied by Lud. and Molmenti.

<sup>3</sup> By exception, half a dozen of his multitudinous pictures are masterpieces in form or in imaginative power, as the *Meditation on the Passion*, New York; the *Two Courtesans*, Mus. Civ., Venice, is an example of beauty and form. His votive altarpieces are often over-realistic or awkward, though several are very fine.

The interest of Carpaccio's work is cumulative. We are struck by its fertility and range as a whole. The inspiration is derived from Giovanni Bellini, yet the art is original. It is dominantly "picturesque," as compared to the greatest masters, yet it is never literal, and often full of fancy; at times it is imaginative; in a few instances it reaches grandeur of thought or beauty in form. He surpasses Gentile Bellini in invention and charm, but is less weighty in conception, and less broad in design than Gentile. His instinct is especially for incident, and he is rather explanatory than suggestive. We cannot escape details. His few portraits are less important as characterisation than as lovely painting, though in his groups he gives general characters very ably. If thus he is often too facile, too content with first impressions, he remains a perfect story-teller and entirely delightful. His colour is rich, deep, vibrant, sometimes almost hot—the colour of old glass with depth of light behind its richness, and softness under its heat.

Carpaccio's influence, yielding to Giorgione's, has only a slight manifestation among minor Bellinesque painters. He may well have influenced his master Bastiani and his fellow-pupils—Mansueti and Diana—but no direct scholars are known. In reality Gentile Bellini is more important historically than Carpaccio. He is the *Capo di Scuola* (the Head of the School), in spite of Carpaccio's enchanting verve. But this whole descriptive phase of Venetian painting is less important than the more permanent expression of the Bellini movement, as found in Giovanni Bellini.

## GIOVANNI BELLINI<sup>1</sup>

1430-1516

The data are few for Giovanni's life, except as we find them in the character of his paintings. We are not even certain whether he or Gentile, as usually assumed, was the elder.<sup>2</sup> We know that both the brothers were assistants to their father while in Padua and later.<sup>3</sup> We accept the close relations between the

<sup>1</sup> See C. & C., *N. It.*; Gronau; L. Venturi; Fry.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Giovanni was an elder illegitimate son. A will (1471) of Jacopo's wife leaves her possessions to Gentile and another son, and makes no mention of Giovanni. For argument, see Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 12, and L. Vent., 325.

<sup>3</sup> Based on documents.

young Mantegna and Giovanni mainly by inference from their works. We infer that Gentile and Giovanni had a studio in common during their early career,<sup>1</sup> and there are bits of evidence of their intimacy, as the successful efforts of Gentile to transfer his State appointment to Giovanni when he himself undertook the mission to the Sultan's court, and his bequeathing in his last will their father's precious sketch-book to his "beloved" brother Giovanni. From whatever cause, Giovanni's fame grew slowly, but, as already intimated, in the end it entirely over-shadowed his brother's, and he finally became the accepted head of the Venetian school. His bottega was thronged with students,<sup>2</sup> he received State patronage, and on his death in 1516 he was buried in an honourable tomb in the Scuola S. Ursula along with noble patrons of the confraternity.

But after all it is his work that counts. It shows the growth of a marvellously sensitive and vigorous artistic temperament. First the influence of Padua is seen in his severe study of nature, which passes quite beyond Jacopo's more sketchy treatment.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps an influence was the religious revival stimulated by Fra Bernardino of Siena, who preached to multitudes both in Padua and Venice in 1443. Something of the severe seriousness of Mantegna may have affected Giovanni's gentle nature, and also the presence of the wholesome and varied genius of his father. The early work of Giovanni up to his thirtieth year—while in Padua—shows a stress of seriousness, a religious pathos, a searching realism and a certain dependence on other masters which he later gradually outgrew. His second period begins after the family's return to Venice from Padua, and lasts for thirty years, from the first stage (1460-1470) when the strong religious feeling of the earlier work (doubtless softened by Venetian influences) is expressed without its asceticism, onward through progressive changes (1470-1490) toward a style that became steadily more monumental and more worldly. At the same time the master is seriously occupied with technical problems—delicacy of modelling, beauties of surface, atmosphere. From this we come to his third

<sup>1</sup> Deduced from doc. pub. in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, II, 382.

<sup>2</sup> Notice the practice of followers like Catena and Rondinelli of signing Giovanni Bellini's name to bottega pictures. In Bellini's true signature one L should be taller than the other.

<sup>3</sup> The influence of Donatello's *Pietà* (relief), Santo, Padua, is visible in Giovanni's *Pietà* of the Ducal Palace.

and final period (about 1490-1516), the period in which the boys Giorgione and Titian entered his bottega; in which he worked in the Ducal Palace; and in which he established the manner from which the later Bellinesque style was largely derived. It is invidious to select among works where all are important, but certain typical paintings must certainly be noticed.

EARLY.—Of the early immature period the *Crucifixion* (Venice) shows especially his growth under the influence of his father and the Paduans, in the haggard figure, sharp, intricate draperies, and formal rocks, and in the model; and also the *Agony in the Garden*, in London, which was perhaps painted just before he left Padua (1459?), and which must be compared with Mantegna's remarkable early work there on the same subject. Both resemble the drawings by Jacopo Bellini in the naturalistic feeling and flowing contours of landscape detail. The figure of Christ and the pattern of distance is similar in both. Bellini's picture is the masterpiece of his early period, impressive both in its pathos and in the suggestiveness of the twilight landscape, which is notable for its realism in details.<sup>1</sup> With these belong the very pathetic and lovely *Madonna* (with a Greek inscription) of the Brera. While it is hard and purposely Byzantine in pattern, for the first time we find here Bellini's grace and sense for beauty.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD (1460-1490), which contains his most beautiful works, shows a gradual widening and secularising of his style. This change is particularly shown in the *Transfiguration* of Naples (probably before 1480), where, though the traditional composition is retained, his earlier pathos is modified by a more objective character, a naturalism which is nevertheless deeply imaginative. The value of the picture is both because it is transitional and because of its intrinsic beauty. Shortly after this comes the first of the great altarpieces that established Giovanni's fame, the *Coronation of the Virgin* at Pesaro. It is a monumental work of sublime feeling. Christ and the Virgin are noble and gracious, the supporting saints of impressive dignity, the landscape mysterious, and framed with a unique

<sup>1</sup> Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 21, suggests that they worked out their pictures together in friendly rivalry. Jacopo Bellini's influence on Giovanni is shown in the prominence of the landscape and in the rounded hills and wattled fence.

treatment by the architecture of the throne.<sup>1</sup> The masterpiece of the period came towards its close, in the celebrated *Altarpiece* of the Church of the Frari (1488). Here architecture has become the important ornamental and monumental factor of the composition; the figures have developed a large graciousness; they are purely human and worldly, yet so attractive, so richly harmonious in colour, so altogether noble, as to seem lacking in nothing. He shows the perfection of form and execution. It is especially to this picture that we must refer the Bellinesque type of architectural altarpieces.<sup>2</sup> A quite different type, that of half-length figures arranged in a horizontal oblong, is shown in the *Madonna between SS. Paul and George* (Venice, 1487), which is also the basis of much subsequent votive painting. Here too we find a realistic tendency and distinct progress in technical skill; and it is particularly important because the S. George and the Christ-Child forecast Giorgione's types in the *Castelfranco Madonna*. For similar reasons should be mentioned the *Allegory* of the Uffizi<sup>3</sup> (probably about 1485-1486), which might naturally proceed from Jacopo in its freedom and fancy, and which, with all its naturalism, has still some mediæval feeling, but which in its technique, tone, and landscape, and in the value of its darks in the composition, shows affinity with Giorgione, and may well have inspired him.

LATE.—We come now to his late years (c. 1490-1516). Though we find few works of the early part of this period, while he was occupied in the Ducal Palace (1488-1505), there are two pictures of prime importance. The first is that splendid portrait of the *Doge Loredano* in London (c. 1500), Bellini's only authentic portrait, which reflects in every way the quality of his matured art—his perception of character, intelligent, just, generous, that sees much, but not too far, his expression of the glory of Venice, as seen in his sitter's conscious assurance, his late-grown sympathy for gorgeousness of effect, the loving touch on details of embroidered robe, his colour deep, rich, softly brilliant. The second is the epoch-making picture of the period,

<sup>1</sup> About 1481. For argument, see Fry, *op. cit.*, 30. He does not again try this form in any existing work.

<sup>2</sup> The technique shows the influence of Antonello.

<sup>3</sup> Class with this Giovanni's *Allegories*, Venice, probably early '90's; cf. little companion panels by Giorgione, Uffizi.



the *Altarpiece* of S. Zaccaria (1505),<sup>1</sup> from whose general manner—a development of the Frari *Altarpiece*—was largely derived the later art of the school. He has retained, but subordinated, the richness of architectural background; a hint of tree and sky at the sides is reminiscent of his earlier landscape, but the composition, bound together by sweeping curves, is simpler and larger. There is amplitude, serenity, rich, mellow colour, and atmosphere. In this picture Bellini reached his final development. He was nearly eighty years old, and though he continued to paint with wonderful assurance and success until his death about ten years later, his style after this shows no great development. His succeeding pictures give the impression in varying excellence of a genial and “wise old man,”<sup>2</sup> but he had finished his work as innovator. He had brought Venetian art to the threshold of the High Renaissance, and even before he was ready to lay down his task there were others waiting to take it up.

### ALVISE VIVARINI<sup>3</sup>

Active 1461–1503

Meanwhile the distinct Muranese school was continued under the leadership of Luigi or Alvise Vivarini, nephew and pupil of Bartolommeo, and ended with him. Alvise's importance, like Bartolommeo's, is as a traditional yet progressive teacher as well as a painter. He was the master of numerous artists, and was the chief rival in Venice of Giovanni Bellini. He owed much to Antonello da Messina, and at his best rivals Giovanni

<sup>1</sup> Consider possible influence upon Bellini of Giorgione. Giorgione's *Castel-jurano Altarpiece* was painted the year before, 1504.

<sup>2</sup> Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> For him see Paoletti and Ludwig, *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1899, 269, and Ludwig, *Pr. Jahrb.*, 1905, 18. See B. B. in *Lotto*. The most important pupils were Cima, Basaiti, Bonsignori (probably), Montagna, Lotto (probably). See Fry, *Giov. Bellini*, 31, where he is called more consistent in tone than Bellini. But Alvise, according to Fry, *op. cit.*, 35, never achieves the atmospheric values of the Bellini, is without surface quality, has a “slippery hardness.” He probably learned something from Giovanni Bellini. His somewhat limited scheme of composition was unequal to the demands of the larger altarpieces in which a whole family of portraits was introduced, as in the Berlin work and the *Altarpiece* in the Frari, Venice, where the figures overload the composition. The sympathetic altarpiece, *Madonna, Redentore*, Venice, is most successful in monumental composition.

Fig. 68.



*Alinari.*

ALTARPIECE.  
Pages 191-2.

GIOVANNI BELLINI.

S. Zaccaria, Venice.

Fig. 69.



ALLEGORY.  
Page 191

GIOVANNI BELLINI.

Uffizi.

Fig. 70.



S. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.  
Page 200.

COSIMO TURA.

Duomo, Ferrara.

Fig. 71.



PALAZZO SCHIFANOIA FRESCO.  
Page 200.

Anderson.

Ferrara.

Bellini in colour. He shows fine drawing and tone, and at times lovely sentiment and finely felt, quiet landscape.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to see how his resolute and yet gentle pictures held their own against Bellini's various splendid and richly coloured works.

We can trace the growth from his earliest known work, the *Altarpiece* of Montefiorentino (1475), which is already less formal than Bartolommeo, through the *Madonna Enthroned* (Venice) of five years later, where the composition is built up like typical Florentine work of the time, and which has true Venetian dignity, down to his masterpiece, the *Resurrection* of 1498, a splendid work. As a painter he surpassed Bartolommeo, but we must remember that he lived late in the Early Renaissance. When Alvise painted his first known work (1475) Mantegna was at the height of his fame, and Giovanni Bellini was painting his loveliest pictures. He was not quite the equal of these men. His monumental composition is narrower than Bellini's. He has not the latter's sensitiveness to beauty, nor his technical facility,<sup>2</sup> nor is he primarily a colourist. In portraiture, though sympathetic and direct, he lacked the penetrating characterisation of Mantegna or Antonello. While single figures and details of treatment are always masterly, he rather fails in complex groups, and it was inevitable that his manner must yield to the freer composition of Giovanni. But though the last of the Vivarini, he is also the most original and powerful of them all. He is the nearest of them to being a truly Venetian painter in spirit; and his pupils are merged with those of the Bellini. These we treat of in another place.

## FOLLOWERS OF THE VIVARINI AND BELLINI

The next generation of Venetian painters is hard to classify. Artists from other parts of North Italy studied in Venice, and either settled there or returned to practise Venetian art in the provincial schools. Older assistants became the teachers of their younger fellow-pupils. All the painting going on in Venice, the peculiar colour of its atmosphere, and its brilliant life—the

<sup>1</sup> As in a *Madonna*, S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Seen in Alvise's Redentore *Madonna* (before restoration?) and the *S. Giustina*, Milan.

pageants, the luxury, the stir of foreign trade—set against a background of the disciplined order of the State, everything profoundly affected young students. A multitude of painters arose to fulfil the demand for portraits and decoration. Though most of them might be called minor men, the sum of their product is of the utmost importance, and they have left behind so many examples of a charming and competent talent, that we can understand their employment even in the same generation with the greatest masters.

**FOLLOWERS OF GENTILE.**—The Gentile-Carpaccio branch of the Bellini school left few direct imitators compared to the scores whose manner retained Giovanni's stamp. They are indeed practically but two, Mansueti and Bartolommeo Veneto, and these manifest also other Venetian influences.

**Mansueti.**—Giovanni Mansueti (active 1485–d. 1527–8) was a painter of little talent, whose rather lifeless paintings may be found in various galleries. He signed himself pupil of Gentile, but he was as much the pupil of Lazzaro Bastiano as of Gentile or Carpaccio. We find him working with them both in the decoration of the Scuola di San Giovanni (on pictures now in the Venice Academy); and a portrait by him in Bergamo has been miscalled Carpaccio's.<sup>1</sup>

**Bartolommeo Veneto** (active 1495–1555)<sup>2</sup> began with simple, religious themes, but soon became painter in ordinary to dandies and courtesans as well as to persons of greater importance, whom he presents in piquant, odd poses and costumes. This portraiture is distinctly original.<sup>3</sup> It is vivid in characterisation, unconventional, and dainty in design, with unusual notes of colour. His origin from Gentile is seen in a greater love of detail than in Giovanni's followers; in colour he is less suave, more objective than they, and, though still living when Titian was an old man, he retained his independent and charming style. Of this the

<sup>1</sup> Lud. and Mol. declare that a type of Madonna by him may be referred to the *Madonna of the Benediction* type by Giov. Bellini. See them for discussion of types followed by various Viv.-Bellini followers.

<sup>2</sup> For him, see Vent., *L'Arte*, II, 432–62; *Burl. Mag.*, XI, 227, 231. Cf. him with Jacopo de' Barbari in his breaking the Venetian current by his peculiar realism. Works are picturesque; remind of German art, or of the more provincial N. Italian schools—Privitale, Milanese masters—De Conti, Andrea Solario.

<sup>3</sup> See *Madonna*, Lochis Gall., Bergamo; *Salome*, Dresden, really a portrait; *Courtesan*, Frankfort, with odd curls and pallid flesh; *Jewess*, Melzi coll., Milan.

entertaining *Portrait of a Young Man* (Corsini) is a typical example. Its stimulating angularity of line recalls Gentile Bellini's early work, but though it is not lacking in dignity, the special effect is of novelty—the colour and design are fresh, pungent, and entertaining.

**VIVARINI-BELLINI SCHOOL.**—By the end of the 15th century, the Vivarini school was merged in that of the Bellini. Alvise himself was affected, and his pupils ended by becoming more or less Bellinesque. With some, however, this is less marked. Only one, **JACOPO DE' BARBARI** (1450-1516),<sup>1</sup> an imitator of Antonello, does not yield at all to the Bellini current. His chief historical claim is from his influence upon Albert Dürer, and he is better known as an engraver than as a painter.

More characteristic of the general Venetian temper is an important group of masters who follow the teaching of the Vivarini, especially of Alvise, yet modify it partly under Giovanni Bellini's influence. These include Cima, Basaiti, Bonsignori, and Montagna of Vicenza, all pupils or followers of Alvise Vivarini.

**Montagna, c. 1450-1523.**<sup>2</sup>—Of this group the most powerful is Bartolommeo Montagna, the founder of the school of Vicenza. Somewhat inflexible and narrow in range, he builds up noble groups for devotional pictures, using sturdy local models. His work shows a provincial school, true to its own life and character, yet learning from a great city art.

**Bonsignori (1453?-1519)** is also an important provincial master. He is as much of Verona as Venetian, and is strongly influenced by Mantegna, but in early pictures he is distinctly Vivarinesque, for instance in the *Altarpiece* in the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, while his great *Portrait of a Senator* in London recalls Antonello's power. In his late pictures the style is more provincial, yet always interesting.

**Basaiti and Cima.**—Less independent than these two, and

<sup>1</sup> De' Barbari worked in Bavaria, and was called there Jacob Walsh (or Welsh). For engravings by him see Hind, *Short History of Engraving*, 62. In mythological engravings under classical influence he is at his best. Also see Vent., *L'Arte*, VI, 95; Ricci, *Rass. d'A.*, III, 75; Gronau, *Rass d'A.*, V, 28.

<sup>2</sup> For his brother Benedetto as engraver see Hind, *op. cit.*, 63; Buonconsiglio, Giovanni Speranza, M. Fugolino, also add weight to school of Vicenza. For the school of Vicenza see C. & C., *N. It.*, and T. Eorenius.

nearer to the Venetians themselves in feeling, are Marco Basaiti (c. 1470-1527) and Cima da Conegliano (1460-c. 1517), both pupils of Alvise Vivarini, who in their maturity work toward the style of the Bellini. Both are fine in landscape. But the two artists are very distinct. Cima is always even and fresh in quality, with a naïve naturalism in composition, and glows with the warm colour of his native foothills of Conegliano. Basaiti, colder in colour, is more constrained and hard, even at his best, yet is very serious and at times impressive.

Another man, LOTTO, is so important in his High Renaissance aspect that he belongs to a later group, and is considered there.

**BELLINI SCHOOL.**—Among the direct followers of Giovanni Bellini, beside Giorgione and Titian, are several men of original gifts.

**Catena**, active 1495-1531.—Of these Vincenzo of Treviso, called Catena, is easily the most distinguished. He grew from a rather humble follower or pupil of Giovanni Bellini to be the ablest of the secondary Bellineschi and an emulator of Giorgione.<sup>1</sup> The charm of his work lies in a serene largeness of design and in fine colour, as in his *Allegorical Landscape* (Louvre),<sup>2</sup> which is perhaps the most beautiful work of all.

**Previtale**, active 1502-1525.<sup>3</sup>—A less winning but still admirable scholar of Bellini appears in Andrea Previtale, who is best seen at Bergamo, his native place, where his works are numerous. Like Catena, he adopts some High Renaissance motives in his maturity, without losing quattrocento feeling. A discursive vein showing want of generalisation, and a certain eclecticism, takes the place of the simple design of earlier masters.

**Marconi.**—The same lack of generalisation is found in Rocco Marconi, another Bellini pupil who is active in the earlier decades of the 16th century, and who feels other currents—a sort

<sup>1</sup> For pictures attrib. to both Catena and Giorgione, see C. & C., *N. It.*; also C. J. Holmes, *School of Giorgione*, *Burl. Mag.*, XVI, 72, and Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, XVI, 6; this last also for technical analysis; see Mor., II, 203 ff. For early Trevisan school, Mor., III, 82. Mor., III, 88, suggests Gir. of Treviso the elder as his possible teacher, on basis of Buia-Pesth *Madonna and SS.*, but sees the Bellini school in *Circumcision*, Padua.

<sup>2</sup> Reprod., *L'Arte*, V, 257.

<sup>3</sup> His disputed identity with Andrea Cordegliahi need not be here discussed. Cordegliahi, if an independent artist, deserves equal attention in this connection.

of transitional master of talent who really enters the High Renaissance group. His art generally is over-complicated, over-sentimental; yet he is effective, and at times in his late works he is quite original. Besides these, the genial conceptions of Giovanni Bellini are faithfully carried out by numerous minor followers of less individuality.



## RENAISSANCE NORTH ITALY

### I

VERONA.—Although from the middle of the 15th century the influence of Pisanello's school in North Italy had given way to that of Padua and Venice, there still remained in various places sufficiently distinctive local styles. Besides the provincials of Venetian training whom Venice did not entirely dominate, there were others who are best considered in connection with their own schools. Native ideals still persisted. This is particularly true of Verona, whose painters, except when absorbed by Venice, are especially native in tone. The school is fertile and original through the whole Renaissance. External influence, however, is discernible in three successive stages—first Paduan, then Bellinesque, and finally High Renaissance Venetian.

Liberale, 1451-1536.—These stages are largely shown by Liberale da Verona,<sup>1</sup> whose long life bridges the gap between a primitive and an almost High Renaissance outlook, as is seen in the growth from his early, whimsical *Adoration of the Magi* (Verona), which reflects the indigenous naturalism, to his later pictures, which affect a Paduan and even Venetian manner. His brusqueness is redeemed in his illuminations by a decorative imagination common to the school.

The Paduan is the first Renaissance external impulse. It appears in the primitive charm of the minor FRANCESCO BENAGLIO, and in FRANCESCO BONSIGNORI (1455-1519), the most important of the Paduan-taught artists of Verona, who has already been discussed under the Vivarini-Bellini school on account of the half-Venetian training evident in his early work, but who later shows his more native character.

Morone, 1442-c. 1503.—In the followers of Liberale a broader style emerges under the influence of the Bellini and Vivarini, which is especially represented by the gifted and original if narrow Domenico Morone, a pupil of Benaglio who

<sup>1</sup> Influenced by the miniaturist Girolamo da Cremona (B. B.).

develops from the blunt naturalism of his votive frescoes to a decorative mastery in secular subjects. His son, FRANCESCO MORONE, a prolific but monotonous painter, and MICHELE DA VERONA, must be passed by among many good minor followers.

**Dai Libri, 1474-1556.**—But Girolamo dai Libri, so called from his skill as an illuminator, especially typifies the local characteristics of the school, even where Venetian influences are clearly discernible.

**Caroto, 1470-1546.**—The change to the High Renaissance is indicated in Francesco Caroto, a progressive painter whose early Mantegnesque and naïve manner, seen in the *Virgin Sewing* (Modena), merges into the High Renaissance with his late, gracious, and Raphaelesque *Madonna* in Dresden. Better still is the quiet dignity of GIOVANNI CAROTO,<sup>1</sup> Francesco's less-known brother. With CAVAZZOLA (1489-1522),<sup>2</sup> who approaches the Venetians, though with a fully developed style of his own, the Venetian High Renaissance became a dominant factor at Verona. But its effect is more clearly seen in men like FRANCESCO TORBIDO (c. 1486-after 1546), who, though very Veronese in his naturalistic religious pictures, yet imitated Giorgione in such portraits as the *Youth* in Padua.

In this connection should be mentioned PAOLO VERONESE, who will be fully discussed later. Though native to Verona, he is properly classed as a High Renaissance Venetian, but two artists of his native city help us to imagine his early training. These are his possible first teacher, ANTONIO BADILE (1517-1560),<sup>3</sup> who is a literal painter, aloof from the Venetians, and could have taught him little except in technique; and the very talented BRUSASORCI (1494-1567),<sup>4</sup> a pupil of Francesco Caroto, whose pictures breath much of the spirit of Veronese—his idyllic feeling, his noble breadth, even a hint of his colour.

## II

**RENAISSANCE FERRARA.**—Ferrara's importance came only with the Early Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> The style is a working out of the

<sup>1</sup> See B. Baron, *Burl. Mag.*, XVIII, 41 ff., 176 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Gamba, *Rass. d'A.*, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> Referred to again under P. Veronese, p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> Andrea da Ferrara, Bono da Ferrara, and the obscure Galasso Galassi are unimportant masters of the transition.

Paduan, being built upon the influence of Squarcione and Mantegna, but it does not like the Paduan end with a single phase, but on the contrary develops various individual types. Narrower in range than Verona and the Lombard schools, it yet affects the whole Emilia and Romagna so greatly that we may almost consider the Renaissance painting of those regions, when not dependent upon Venice or Lombardy, as its derivative; and its painting naturally reflects the racy, realistic and often passionate Romagnol character.<sup>1</sup>

Tura, c. 1430-1495.<sup>2</sup>—The one great genius of Ferrara is Cosimo Tura, who founded and dominated its early Renaissance school, and next to Mantegna is Squarcione's great pupil. In spirit he is akin to Crivelli and Signorelli. Crivelli and Tura are alike in their somewhat narrow employment of great natural gifts. Just as Crivelli sums up the beauties of an outworn style, and charms by his limitations, and Signorelli disregards obvious pictorial graces, so the sculpturesque severity of Tura's powerful imagery, already archaic in the light of Venetian graciousness, rises against the impending facility of the High Renaissance. His uncompromising form, his ugly types have more capacity to express tragedy than beauty, and often he barely escapes caricature through his serious dignity, as in *The Pietà* in Venice which recalls Donatello in the mystic dominance of the figures over the field, as well as in the regardlessness of refinement in the models. The background is Paduan, and the spiral formation of the Mount of Calvary is common in Ferrarese art, but there is a strange thrill and profound dramatic feeling quite original to the master.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps the most impressive of his votive pictures.

Cossa,<sup>4</sup> c. 1435-1480.—But Tura is unique. His most faithful pupil, Francesco Cossa, descends to common earth. In the decorative fresco series of the Palazzo Schifanoia at Ferrara, which takes first rank in his work, he painted the ordinary life of the Court. He has indeed admirable qualities: breadth in landscape backgrounds, even elemental feeling, and true picturesque-

<sup>1</sup> In Dante's time the term Romagna was applied as far north as Ferrara.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Venturi's arts. in *L'Arte* and *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*. See B. B.'s discussion of Tura, *N. It. Painters*. See ills. in *L'Arte*, VI, 135 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This Paduan style can degenerate to fantastic unrestraint. See the original and Netherlandish-like Parenzano.

<sup>4</sup> Works rare. See Venturi, *op. cit.*

ness; in some pictures,<sup>1</sup> under the influence of Piero della Francesca, the pastoral feeling of Italian humanism leads the way to Correggio; and in the less original religious paintings there is a certain dignified characterisation.

E. Roberti,<sup>2</sup> c. 1430-1496.—Tura's more versatile pupil, Ercole Roberti, exhibits the advance from the Early to the High Renaissance as seen in the change from his ascetic and striking *Pietà* in Liverpool and his early masterpiece—the *Enthroned Madonna and SS.* (1480) in the Brera—to the quite modern *Concert*, in London,<sup>3</sup> which is almost pure genre, and the *Medea and her Children* (Richmond), which also shows the modern leaven. There is an evolution in form, but distinctly a decline in emotional tone. The story of the gradual expansion and enfeebling of this movement can only be sketched in outline to its baroque effulgence in Correggio and the Bolognese eclectics. ERCOLE DI GIULIO CESARE GRANDI (c. 1464-1535) is a pupil of Ercole Roberti's belonging to a later and more imitative generation. He is represented in pictures at Ferrara, among which the *Pietà* is notably impressive, and the *Ceiling* (Palazzo Scrofa-Calcagnini),<sup>4</sup> with perspective effects, shows the influence of Mantegna's vaulting at Mantua and his High Renaissance vein.

Roberti's influence, and Cossa's,<sup>5</sup> is also marked in FRANCESCO BIANCHI-FERRARI (1457-1510),<sup>6</sup> whose chief distinction is as the reputed master of Correggio. The claim is perhaps justified by his *Annunciation* in Modena (Estense Gallery), in the affectionate care of the sculptured ornament and draperies, and the real refinement of the landscape.

Costa, 1460-1535.—With Lorenzo Costa, pupil of Cossa and Ercole Roberti, the early Ferrarese severity yields to a milder convention, and the Early Renaissance movement in Ferrara ends. The centre of interest shifts to Bologna, whither Costa removed in 1483, and, in partnership with his pupil Francia, carried on a vigorous bottega. Among his earlier works which reflect Cossa's naturalism, the most remarkable are the *Altarpiece* (1488) of the Bentivoglio Chapel (Bologna)—a Madonna with

<sup>1</sup> *Autumn*, Berlin, and similar pictures.

<sup>2</sup> Influence of Mantegna and Giov. Bellini, according to B. B.

<sup>3</sup> Late Salting collection, reprod. *L'Arte*, XI, 427. Attrib. to Costa by B. B.

<sup>4</sup> Detail illust., *L'Arte*, VI, 140.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cossa's predelle in the Vatican.

<sup>6</sup> For illust. art. on him, see Vent., *L'Arte*, I, 279-303.

numerous portraits of the Bentivoglio family, which is an intimate revelation of the life of the time; and *Frescoes* in the same chapel—curiously ornate allegories, which illustrate the survival of the mediæval spirit in later humanism. Among the many other altarpieces of Costa's prolific career, some clearly show his imitation of the Umbrians, and forecast the pietism of Guido Reni. Bologna is full of his works of this sort, from which we turn with some relief to the humanism of two romantic and delicate examples, the *Decorative Pictures* in the Louvre painted for the famous boudoir of Isabella d'Este<sup>1</sup>—where, after Mantegna's death in 1506, Costa became court painter.

### III

#### FERRARA-BOLOGNA <sup>2</sup>

**Francia**, 1450–1517.<sup>3</sup>—**MARCO ZOPPO**, a peculiarly archaic and mannered but interesting follower of Squarcione's school, had brought from Padua the first real progress in the art of Renaissance Bologna. But the leading Renaissance painter of Bologna is Francesco Raibolini, the partner of Costa, whose school made an alliance in style with Ferrara, and influenced the Marches and Umbria. The schools of Ferrara and Bologna were now fairly merged for two generations, and their joint style was influential until the early 16th century, when Ferrara was again distinguished. Francia was very popular in Bologna, and drew many scholars. Goldsmith<sup>4</sup> as well as painter, the execution of his early pictures has a special beauty, as the *S. Stephen Martyr* in the Borghese, with its atmospheric lucidity and enamel-like finish; but in general his style is Ferrarese, imitating Costa or Ercole Roberti, though with a gentle skill and urbanity of his own. A few portraits, as the *Young Man* in the Uffizi, seem to tell of more personal feeling. An early work of exceptional charm is the

<sup>1</sup> Mantegna, Perugino, Francia, and Giovanni Bellini, painted for the same series.

<sup>2</sup> See important articles on the *Origine del Rinascimento pitt. in Bologna*, by T. Gerevich, *Rass. d'A.*, VI, 161–7, 177–80; VII, 177–84. For Bolognese local tone and realism in miniatures, see laughing (or smiling) portraits in Statuto della Soc. dei Drappieri, 1346, reprod. *L'Arte*, X, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Francia = shortening of Francesco.

<sup>4</sup> His early pictures are signed "Aurifaber."

*Nativity* in Glasgow, of unexpected spontaneity, though recalling Roberti in the studied accessories and the academic figure of a shepherd; and his *Virgin in the Rose Garden* in Munich is an especially poetic work. But in general his ideals approach Umbrian feeling without the Umbrian sense for design, and the *S. George* of the Corsini is a typical early example of the utmost elaboration of a lifeless image. He uses his narrow gift with entire faithfulness, to produce a calm monotony of endless altarpieces, seen mainly in the churches and Gallery of Bologna, faultless to a fault.

## IV

**Timoteo Viti, 1467-1524.**<sup>1</sup>—Francia's most influential pupil was Timoteo Viti of Urbino, in whom the style of Ferrara-Bologna came into organic touch with the Umbrian, and whose special claim to interest is his formative influence upon Raphael. On Timoteo's return to Urbino from Bologna in 1495, Raphael was twelve years old,<sup>2</sup> and seems to have received a strong influence from him.<sup>3</sup> The painting by Timoteo which most suggests the relation to Raphael, is the *Madonna Enthroned with SS.* in the Brera, spoken of by Vasari as the first work painted after his return home. The poses of Costa appear with greater realism, as in the angel and dog—some Umbro-Florentine feeling indeed. In certain presumably later works the Ferrarese feeling is more marked, like the *Magdalen* of 1508-9 in Bologna, which recalls Francia, but is still suggestive of Raphael in sentiment.<sup>4</sup>

The interchange of styles illustrated by Timoteo Viti shows further in the Renaissance schools of Rimini and Faenza. At Faenza Umbro-Florentine portrait types in connection with a Squarcionesque style are seen in several works attributed on doubtful tradition to a certain LEONARDO SCALETTI (d. before 1495). The rather later BERTUCCI indicates the influence of

<sup>1</sup> For works, see Mor., *Die Gal. zu Berlin*, 232-7. He owes more to Costa than to Francia.

<sup>2</sup> Francia's diary cit. by Mor., III, 212 n.

<sup>3</sup> Morelli first observed Raphael's early imitation of Tim. Viti. This is generally accepted, in spite of Morelli's acceptance of spurious drawings.

<sup>4</sup> His latest works, as *Altarpiece*, Cagliari, are weaker. His drawings—Oxford, Brit. Mus., and elsewhere (see Mor. III)—are essential in estimating his style. See Sidney Colvin.

Umbrian art, and G. B. UTILI (1505-1515) that of Florence, especially of Verrocchio. There is a curious mingling of Umbrian, Umbro-Florentine, and Ferrara-Bolognese styles, as in the naïve and often delightful GIOVANNI FRANCESCO DA RIMINI (active 1458-1471), who seems at times an offshoot of the Umbrians, with a touch of the Florentine Fra Angelico or Gozzoli, as in his panel, *S. Dominic Ministered to by Angels* (Pesaro), where he has the charm of primitive Umbrians like Boccatis. At times he imitates Piero della Francesca, although with strange awkwardness, and again he follows the manner of Bonfigli.

## V

LOMBARDY.—Lombardy, as well as Emilia and the Marches, had active schools. Bergamo, which, though near Milan, had strong Venetian affiliations, was rich in famous Renaissance sons of the Bellini following.<sup>1</sup> The school of Cremona<sup>2</sup> contributed its quota of Renaissance artists. Among them GIROLAMO DA CREMONA (1467-1483) uses the homely types of Liberale da Verona, but is more spontaneous and inventive and admirably decorative;<sup>3</sup> and BOCCACCINO,<sup>4</sup> perhaps an Alvise follower, is of some importance. His best example is the *Santa Conversazione* (Venice), which illustrates his selection of local models, dainty, girlish, and winning, and shows a peculiar colour scheme with green and purple effects, some Giorgionesque feeling in landscape, and broad execution.<sup>5</sup> Another, ALTABELLO FERRARI (known as MELONE), is an imitator of the Ferrarese and of Francia.

But Milan and its neighbouring town of Brescia alone developed a school of some consistence, and they produced one master of real importance.

Foppa, c. 1427—after 1502.—The true founder of the Milanese

<sup>1</sup> For the interesting *Frescoes* of the cathedral at Atri, the most important works of the school, see p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Previtali; the two Santa Croce (minor); Palma Vecchio; Cariani; Lotto—are all from Bergamo.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Schweitzer, *L'Arte*, III, 41-71.

<sup>4</sup> See B. B.'s *Essays*. Liberale's archaism indicates his priority. See Girolamo's vigorous *Christ with Four SS.*, etc., in Viterbo, where treatment of draperies suggests the relationship.

<sup>5</sup> He figures at Cremona, his native place.

<sup>6</sup> For the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," a later imitator, see B. B.'s lists.

school is the long-lived and active Vincenzo Foppa,<sup>1</sup> probably a native of Brescia. He is the central master of the Lombard and Brescian region in the Early Renaissance, and, like Giovanni Bellini, bridged the whole epoch from Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini into the High Renaissance. He began with a half-medieval mode. His sculpturesque feeling suggests an early Squarcionesque education,<sup>2</sup> though he simplifies the Paduan manner. Works accepted as early link him with Stefano and Pisanello; and there is a reflex from Gentile da Fabriano, who visited Brescia in 1414 and whose pictures might have influenced him. The *Crucifixion* of 1456 (Bergamo) strongly recalls the early Jacopo Bellini.<sup>3</sup> Other early works bear marks of similar relationships, and are of lovely quality. Among them is the *Madonna* in the Castello at Milan, where the Virgin emerges from a window-opening, with sculpturesque feeling, and in which there is a rope of Squarcionesque beads against the open background. Typical of a later period is the winning, almost domestic *Annunciation* at Arcore. With maturity comes a style of vigorous realism, as in the London *Adoration of the Magi*, which, though academic, is monumental. About 1480 his style expands. The *Pietà* (Berlin) and the *S. Sebastian* at Milan show the grandiose feeling of the High Renaissance. His predelle are often of great charm, and numerous smaller Madonnas are scattered in various galleries. They are in a cool, silver-grey tone, of a quiet, often rather rustic character, and stand quite alone of their kind.

Milan and Lombardy had been largely dependent on outside influences from Verona and North Europe. It is as an influence for sturdy, native ideals and character that Foppa counts most. He gave a consistent ideal to an art of too diverse and partly exotic character; but just as his school reached something like independent rank, the arrival (c. 1474) of the architect Bramante of Urbino introduced other exotic canons, and the Florentine

<sup>1</sup> For Milanese school, see *Pittori Lombardi del quattrocento*, by Malaguzzi-Valeri, Milan, 1902. Also Foulkes and R. Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia*, with documents; *Review* of above by F. M. Valeri, in *Rass. d'A.*, IX, 84 ff. Also *art.* by Frizzoni, *L'Arte*, XII, 249-260, resuming and criticising results.

<sup>2</sup> According to B. B.

<sup>3</sup> If, as we believe, the Louvre *Madonna* is Jacopo's. Cf. the use of medals in ornament in Foppa's school with Mantegna's *Eremitani Frescoes*. This use may come either from Jac. Bellini or from Bramante.



Leonardo da Vinci made Milan his home (c. 1482), where his followers in the 16th century formed a prominent school. Influences followed from Venetian and Flemish art, and the Milanese style ended in eclecticism.

**Bramante** (1444-1514).—The famous architect, Bramante of Urbino,<sup>1</sup> who was working in North Italy in 1474, is known as a painter only by his decorative works in and near Milan. These brought to the Lombard school some reflections of the style of the Umbro-Florentine Melozzo da Forlì; but Bramante's powerful over-realistic heroes and warriors reveal the architect's ideas of effective decoration, rather than the pictorial vision of a born painter.

**Bramantino**.—The Lombard school felt Bramante's influence especially through his assistant and imitator Bramantino, who seems isolated from the North Italian current.<sup>2</sup> His strong academic strain, a study of the human figure for itself in much the Paduan way, an original type of composition, without much unifying capacity, are more admirable than beautiful. Yet his colour—cool greens and blues—is original, the early *Nativity* in Milan indicates the sources of his style in Foppa's tradition, and his *Adoration of the Magi* in Venice, though faulty in composition, with pedantic accessories, as the Oriental turbans, is admirably studied in detail and in portraiture—the superb young king on the right is classic as a figure by Piero della Francesca; and his fresco of *S. Martin Dividing His Mantle*, in the Brera, shows a broad, decorative style, carried on later by Gaudenzio, and in a more personal fashion by Luini.

**SCHOOL OF FOPPA**.—With Foppa and his school architectural features impose on painting, as in the elaborate decoration in the Certosa of Pavia. These features are sometimes tasteless, although fine as mere craft, and they often spoil the simple and monumental quality of the art, the sense of figure composition being lost, as

<sup>1</sup> See C. & C., *N. It.*; *Bramante alla Certosa di Pavia*, *L'Arte*, XIII, 162-76. See the impressive *Christ at the Column*, in the Cistercian Abbey of Chiaravala, near Milan, reprod. by Suida in *Aus. Jahrb.*, cit. below.

<sup>2</sup> So called from his master. See C. & C., *N. It.*; *Bramantino*, by Frizzoni, *L'Arte*, XI, 321-9, and consult W. Suida in *Aus. Jahrb.*, XXV, 1-71; XXVI, 293-372. See his naturalism in *Ecce Homo*, fresco, Ch. of the Certosa, Pavia, *L'Arte*, X, 59. The striking *Calvary* attrib. to Mantegna (N. Y. Hist. Soc.) is given by Bode to Bramantino, *Zeitschrift bild. K.*, 1894. His colour is a means of distinguishing him in one or two frescoes, Milan, that approach Luini.

seen in Luini. While details are classic, the spirit is exuberant with a lack of measure.

Among Foppa's followers V. CIVERCHIO (c. 1470-1544) and the obscure Ferramola<sup>1</sup> have interest as founders of the brilliant Brescian movement of the High Renaissance. Civerchio has a charming *Nativity with S. Catherine* (Milan) presumably early, freely composed with an idealistic landscape. His *Polyptych* of 1495 in Brescia is hard and matter-of-fact, yet free from early formulas, and his late work is touched with the Leonardesque manner.

Two important followers were BERNARDINO BUTINONE (1430?-1507) and BERNARDO MARTINI ZENALE (1436-1526),<sup>2</sup> who are hard to distinguish. They inherit Foppa's realism and his love of rich architecture, to which is added the influence of Bramante and Bramantino in the same direction. Butinone's vein is archaic and racy with native feeling, as judged by the early triptych of the *Madonna Enthroned* (1454), in the Brera. He is more spontaneous than Zenale, and suggests an affinity to the Paduan school of Squarcione and Foppa's early style. Zenale tends more to a style of city architecture and a quieter portraiture. They worked together upon the elaborate *Polyptych* in the Treviglio Cathedral (1485). This is derivative of Foppa, with set poses and academic perspective, with portraiture and rich ornament. The predelle, rather vulgar in conception, are quite Paduan. One of the most pleasing compositions is the *S. Martin and the Beggar*, with the courtly young saint aristocratically cutting his mantle, a proud decorative horse, and a broad vista with a castle in the background. For their genre there is the decoration of S. Pietro in Gessate, Milan.<sup>3</sup>

Bergognone,<sup>4</sup> c. 1450-1523.—Among Foppa's disciples the most sympathetic and winning is Ambrogio Fassano, called Bergognone. He is conservative and is highly characteristic of the region. A certain archaism is united to an intimate tenderness. His backgrounds are usually of simple architectural and landscape motives in great variety, which are in keeping with the intimacy of the style, and show a local atmosphere which adds much to his charm. His colour is quite original, with a pale

<sup>1</sup> For him see Morelli.

<sup>2</sup> For them see H. Cook, *Burl. Mag.*, IV, 84-94; V, 199-201 and B. B.'s *Lists*.

<sup>3</sup> See man hung by arms with an ape in a lunette. For these frescoes see F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Rass d'A.*, VII, 145-52.

<sup>4</sup> See Malaguzzi-Valeri in *Th.-B. Lex.* on Bergognone.

refinement of lilacs and blues. His execution is also beautiful, especially in the early Foppesque Madonnas. This early work wins our sympathies at once. It is in an idealistic style entirely removed from academic hardness—as the superbly decorative fresco, *Madonna with Eight SS.* (Milan), and the *Nursing Madonna* (Bergamo), which is close to Foppa's style, but distinctly more gracious. The girlish mother, in the small London Madonna, is of sweet and real pathos. Bergognone and Zenale approach each other in style at times, as seen in the *Circumcision* (Louvre)<sup>1</sup> and in the two pictures of *Portrait Figures Adoring*,<sup>2</sup> in London, which are highly original in their purplish colour scheme. Later, with perhaps some loss of spontaneity, there is a more academic but vigorous development, in sympathy, perhaps, with Foppa's enlarged style, as in the four pictures from the *Life of the Virgin at Lodi*. Finally, in his later years, the master's style hardens and stiffens a little, as in the examples in the Certosa at Pavia. The effect of his most perfect work—often small in scale—is dependent upon his wonderful colour gift, a development of Foppa's reticent harmonies, and possibly influenced by Zenale.<sup>3</sup>

Luini (c. 1475-1531-2).—With Bernardino Luini, the most famous of Lombard painters, the native tendencies reach their height. After him the school ends in a secondary movement under the influence of Leonardo and the Venetians. He is a pupil, probably, of Bergognone, but shows traces of Bramantino, and naturally of Leonardo, who was dominant in Milan during his youth. His style, through a personal feeling, is ideal, as distinct from local naturalism, in a manner exceptional for North Italy. It is receptive, and without much mental power; but it is fertile, of great ease, and intimate charm. Obvious sentiment is expressed in a broad decorative style, with quiet, rich colour. He escapes all the dryness of the earlier men, and is winning without effort, and he remains the Milanese master who emerges into the general representative rank. The painters who follow fall under the influence of the Venetians or of Leonardo.

We are thus brought into the High Renaissance; and it is under that heading that Piedmont and Liguria are properly discussed.

<sup>1</sup> Attrib. tentatively to Zenale by B. B. See also von Siedlitz, *L'Arte*, VI, 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Attrib. also to Zenale.

<sup>3</sup> See *Theodosius and S. Ambrose*, Bergamo, and *Life of S. Ambrose*, Turin.

Other followers of Foppa of only local importance are Donato da Montorfano, constrained but fertile; Corracchio; the Ligurian Brea of Nice.

**PART IV**  
**THE FLORENTINE HIGH RENAISSANCE**  
**AND RAPHAEL**

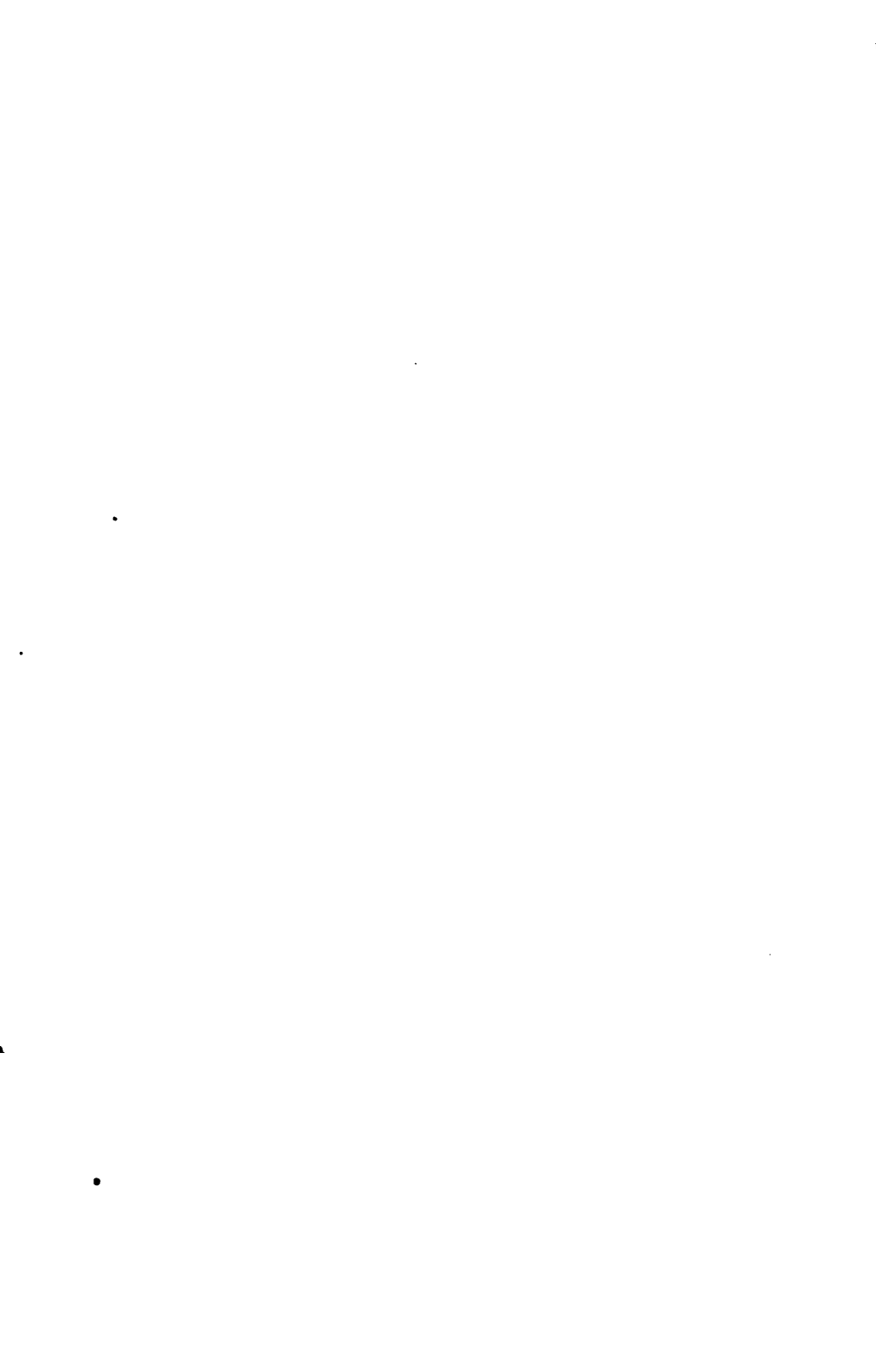


Fig. 72.



*Montabone.*

S. ROCH.

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Scotti Collection, Milan.

BERGOGNONE.

Fig. 73.



*Alinari.*

S. STEPHEN MARTYR.

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FRANCIA.

Borghese.

Fig. 74.



Detail of LAST SUPPER.  
THE SAVOUR.  
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LEONARDO DA VINCI.

A. Ferrario.

Milan.

# LEONARDO DA VINCI<sup>1</sup>

1452-1519

WITH Leonardo da Vinci we are introduced to the first great master of the High Renaissance. Fully trained in the old school, he both accepted quattrocento conventions and broke from them into 16th-century freedom. It is difficult to analyse in a word the quality which has placed Leonardo among the supreme masters. His art-product was small as compared to other Italian artists. He left no monumental architecture and no finished work of sculpture. There remain six authentic paintings, two of them unfinished,<sup>2</sup> numerous drawings of all kinds showing marvellous invention, and voluminous written notes of his artistic and scientific theories, and finally there remains the record of the spell he cast over his contemporaries. As a mere painter there are many Florentines to delight us more. He never learned to paint supremely well. His mind was too active for the palette. No great artist ever left so many evidences of experiment, or so many signs of other enthralling interests. He is the courtier, the philosopher, the scientist. His drawings of plant life are botanical, those of the earth are geologic. His mathematical theories anticipated the discoveries of modern scientists. He was busy with aviation and theories of hydraulics. Years passed busied with sculpture and architecture, of which only sketches remain. Yet at important stages of his career painting was his chief interest, and though his other occupations limited the amount of his art-work, they also introduced into it an element of experience and intellectual power that is rare among artists, and which makes him the first culminating genius of Italian humanism, and the first modern painter.

<sup>1</sup> See Seidlitz, monograph. Geymüller is an authority on Leonardo and school. See also Gronau, *Leonardo*. Horne's notes, *Leonardo da Vinci*, are dependable and critically just. Vasari's *Life* is in general confirmed by other evidence. Consult also Bode.

<sup>2</sup> The four completed are *Mona Lisa*, Louvre; *Virgin of the Rocks*, Louvre; which are the two most perfect examples; the *Last Supper* (fresco), Milan, and the early *Annunciation*, Louvre.



Born in the Florentine town of Vinci, of good family, his father a notary of Florence, his mother a girl of Vinci,<sup>1</sup> Leonardo was brought up to cultivated intercourse in his father's house in Florence, and he was always at home in courtly circles. He was placed in Verrocchio's bottega at some early period,<sup>2</sup> exactly when is not known, and had for fellow-pupils Lorenzo di Credi and Perugino. Here he worked for some years, at least as late as 1476, which is three years after his first dated work ;<sup>3</sup> perhaps he was there even later. There are few facts of this period. He was admitted to the Guild of Painters in 1472, while still with his master. There is something suggestive of Leonardo's just estimate of values, that he lingered so long as Verrocchio's assistant. It is indicative of a temperament which, however swift to accept new ideas, held at their full value the gifts of the past. Early in 1482<sup>4</sup> he went to Milan, and was established at the court of Ludovico Sforza—Il Moro—where, besides serious undertakings, he became involved in designing the accessories of court fêtes, and for seventeen years was one of the notable personages in the city. With the fall of the Duke in 1499 he returned to Florence, which he reached in 1500. From July 1, 1502, until the spring of 1503, he was travelling throughout Central Italy, assisting in designing Cesare Borgia's fortifications in the Marches. From 1503 to 1506 he was busy on important commissions in Florence. His remaining years were spent mainly in the employ of princes. He was at Milan 1506-1507 and 1508-1512, working for the French king or his viceroy—a period when he influenced Milanese painting even more than during his early residence there. He was in Rome 1513-1515, where he was lodged like a prince in the Vatican. Finally, after some months of travel in Italy, he went to France in the train of Francis I in 1516. Here, two and a half years later (May 2, 1519), he died, attended by loving friends and at peace in religion, in his château of Cloux, near Amboise.

Leonardo's character, like his works, eludes analysis. He was gracious, welcome in society, and dear to friends. He was an onlooker in the political and religious struggles of the

<sup>1</sup> She afterwards married well in her own town. Leonardo was an illegitimate son.

<sup>2</sup> 1465 or 1469, according to Horne.

<sup>3</sup> The Drawing of 1473.

<sup>4</sup> See his letter to the Duke of Milan asking for a commission.

times, yet he was an independent thinker, and considered to be religious.

Leonardo's life may be divided into five periods :

I. 1452-1482, THE FIRST FLORENTINE, to which belong the little *Annunciation* (Louvre), the *Adoration* (Uffizi), the *S. Jerome* (Vatican), and the two debated pictures, the *Baptism* (Belle Arti) and *Annunciation* (Uffizi). II. 1482-1499, THE FIRST MILANESE, the period of the *Equestrian Statue of Sforza*, the *Virgin of the Rocks*, and the *Last Supper*. III. 1500-1508, THE SECOND FLORENTINE, including various journeyings; containing the cartoon of the *Battle of Anghiari*, for the decoration of the Great Council Hall in Florence, and the famous *Mona Lisa*. IV. 1508-1513, THE SECOND MILANESE PERIOD. V. THE FINAL PERIOD, including his visit to Rome (1513-1515), and his residence (1516-1519) until his death in France.

Of these last two periods no works entirely by his hand are extant.

THE PEN DRAWING (Uffizi) dated 1473 is the first example of the young artist's independent style—a wonderful drawing, important for itself and for the attribution of other works. It is a rapid improvisation of an open reach of sky and land, broadly handled, and of distinguished originality. It reveals Leonardo in a personal interpretation. Contrary to early Italian landscape tradition, he neglects definite outline and suggests with mature imagination a general effect of crags and castle, plunging waterfall, lowland fields and mountain lines—essential features in Tuscany. All his paintings show a life-long preoccupation with the landscape problem. By composing in tone rather than form, by a sense of the value of space and air, he opened the way for modern experiment. In spite of reminiscences of earlier art, as in rock-forms, his backgrounds in their union of science and poetry are the highest expression of Italian landscape painting.

BAPTISM<sup>1</sup> AND ANNUNCIATION.<sup>1</sup>—From this we turn to the two greatly debated pictures, the *Baptism* (Academy) and the *Annunciation* of the Uffizi, both early, and both attributed in the main to Verrocchio. The backgrounds of both seem by Leonardo,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 125 for previous mention. Morelli's opinion as to quality in this case has no following so far as we are aware. B. B., however, gives both *Baptism* and *Annunciation* to Verrocchio. See strong statement of same view in Cruttwell's *Verrocchio*.

and should rank with his Drawing of 1473 as among the greatest landscapes in Italian art. From internal evidence they may well be before the Drawing of 1473. They must be before 1478.

Leonardo's participation in the *Baptism* is one of Vasari's traditions,<sup>1</sup> and a school of modern criticism gives to Leonardo the credit for the painting of the landscape background. This explanation agrees with the pre-eminent quality of the work. Yet whether this view is accepted or not, the importance artistically of the landscape is assured, and upon it the argument largely rests. The question is whether the similar imaginative quality in the Drawing of 1473 and the background of the *Baptism* is due to Leonardo, or whether the young Leonardo inspired Verrocchio to a novel vein, or finally whether the work belongs to Leonardo himself. In view of Leonardo's later works, especially the *Mona Lisa*, we give the landscape to Leonardo. It is a little less mature than the Drawing of 1473, but it is a working out in colour of a similar ideal, and is more modern than anything by other masters of the time. No description can suggest the poetical character of this transcript from Tuscan scenery. It is an experimental, and even nebulous, arrangement of broad landscape features, but it is based on reality and composed to express the elemental beauty of the earth and its enveloping atmosphere. It is palpitating with life in subtle earth-tones of browns, yellows, and deep greens. Everything we know of Verrocchio argues against his sharing the subjective attitude of this background. On the other hand, the foreground is even timid. The view we offer is that the main composition and drawing is by Verrocchio (date not far from 1473<sup>2</sup>); that the painting was left to his assistants, among whom Leonardo, about twenty-one years old at the time, executed at least the left-hand angel and the landscape, and possibly painted upon the body of Jesus<sup>3</sup> and other parts of the picture; that others—one or more—are responsible for inferior portions of the picture, as the rock and detail behind John the Baptist.

In regard to the *Annunciation* of the Uffizi, the technical argument is simpler. There is a further landscape development over the *Baptism*, and we place it a little later—near to 1475 (its

<sup>1</sup> Vasari claims one angel for Leonardo.

<sup>2</sup> Or even earlier, as 1470?

<sup>3</sup> The head of the Christ suggests the metal-worker. It shows truth to the individual model, but is not too realistic.

Fig. 75.



THE BAPTISM.  
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VERROCCHIO AND LEONARDO (?).

Academy, Florence.

Fig. 76.



PIERRO DI COSIMO.

DEATH OF PROCRIS.

London.

Fig. 77.



*Anderson.*

THE ANNUNCIATION.  
Page 214.

LEONARDO (?).

Uffizi.

Fig. 78.



ADORATION  
Page 216.

LEONARDO DA VINCI.

Uffizi.

date is a crucial problem)—and again give the general plan and drawing to Verrocchio, and the landscape, and perhaps the draperies, to Leonardo, and perhaps the flesh parts to some other skilful assistant, as Lorenzo di Credi.<sup>1</sup> Verrocchio's training appears in the extreme conscientiousness everywhere. The main argument is based upon the landscape. This is most important as an interpretation of atmosphere and the study of light in foliage. It must be either by Leonardo or Verrocchio, and the tendency to experiment belongs to Leonardo. The almost painful elaboration of the foreground contrasts with the sweep and flow of the distance, but there is the same handling in both, and the distance is also rather full of detail. Everything points to the intervention of other assistants—especially the convention of the composition and the abrupt ending of the picture at the left with no limiting feature; the obtrusive prayer-desk, inferior to Verrocchio in design; the flowers, exquisite but over-elaborate; the draperies, superbly drawn and executed, but over-studied.

Another work disputed with Verrocchio is the lovely *Portrait of a Girl* (Lichtenstein Collection, Vienna), a prototype of *La Gioconda*, and in its strange decorative background of juniper tree and landscape and its living characterisation fully worthy of Leonardo. In colour it recalls the Louvre *Annunciation*. There are grassy clumps similar to those in the foreground of the *Baptism*, and the distant ground equals the broad effects of the Drawing of 1473, though the landscape is perhaps more fanciful than elsewhere in Leonardo.

The small *Annunciation* of the Louvre is the usual point of departure for his early style. Its composition depends either upon the Uffizi *Annunciation* or else upon the general scheme of which the Uffizi *Annunciation* is an example. But the effect of the two is entirely different. The Uffizi picture belongs to the quattrocento, the Louvre one to the cinquecento. Though studied, the Louvre *Annunciation* is one of the first examples of a modern treatment, and therefore marks a crucial point in the development of Florentine painting. There is a change to a more generalised style. Interest is concentrated upon the

<sup>1</sup> Di Credi's participation is hardly possible if the date is as early as 1475. The building to the right is heavily repainted, and may be a later addition. The various explanations for the picture before Mr. Berenson's opinion was published obscured the true issues of the problem. Baron von Liphardt first attributed this *Annunciation* to Leonardo.

sympathetic movement between the figures. There is subordination of landscape and an absence of details. Yet the picture has a freshness and lack of introspection which places it early—some think very early<sup>1</sup>—and, charming though it is, it must yield before Leonardo's more mature works.

ADORATION.—This First Period (1452–1482) ends with the large unfinished painting of the *Epiphany* or *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), a work of full maturity.<sup>2</sup> Leonardo, after laying in the underpainting in 1481, left it on his call to Milan, and after his lengthy residence there, for whatever reason, never resumed the task. The first impression is of the central group, set apart in an open space, the Virgin and Child with Joseph close behind, and with surrounding worshippers—worshippers pressing forward, yet stopping as at an invisible, encircling line. Beyond, are intensely absorbed, watching persons, who are not immediate actors, but yet vivid participants in the mystery. Bounding this foreground by trenchant notes is the silhouette of rising ground, with two clearly accented trees, distinctly separating the scene from the world drama beyond. On the left, the foreground passes by natural gradation into the middle ground, which is occupied by vivid groups ushering in the illimitable distance. The traditional composition is retained. But what a use of old motives! The symmetry is recast into a new mental mould; the obvious lines and planes give way to delicate gradation; the contours of the foreground replace the quattrocento parapet; the pyramidal pattern leads inward, and gives effect of space; the usual fringe of foliage has become a connecting link. The composition shows an exuberance of motives. It is a colossal imaginative experiment, the last word of a classic convention, and the first word of a modern style. Yet the complexity of the composition raises the question whether Leonardo had overshot pictorial possibilities—at least with his technical equipment. It is as if he had set himself to express all qualities at once—tone, form, light—and left the problem unsolved. The only part of

<sup>1</sup> Gronau, p. 72, thinks before 1470, Leonardo being about seventeen; others place it later than the Drawing of 1473.

<sup>2</sup> For the Monastery of San Donato a Scopeto (suburbs of Florence), pulled down in 1529. Commission finally given to Filippino Lippi, 1496. Filippino's picture now in Uffizi. Leonardo's work was left untouched. For the Leonardo docs., see Milanese, *Arch. Stor.*, XVI, 129 ff., and résumé by Giov. Poggi in *Riv. d'A.*, 1910, 93–101.

the picture carried out further than the underpainting is that of the central trees. The modelling of the plane-tree in relation to the staccato notes of the palm, and to the two trees growing on the ruin, gives a tone rhythm for the whole composition. As the work stands unfinished it is a *tour de force* of unique power, and illustrates to the full the capacity shown in Leonardo's drawings of expressing an idea by the slightest means; already we find that psychological interest so marked in the *Mona Lisa* and the *Last Supper*. It indicates a tribute of all that is royal from the ends of the earth, and of the plain manhood from the hills and plains to the Divine Child. There is the sense of spaciousness as of a world-wide theme; the reverence in contrasted types of strong men: the foremost shepherd with impassioned visage; the haunting face next his, barely laid in; and the adjacent youth gazing like a neophyte. The Virgin's simple loveliness is hinted at; the Child, a veritable infant, yet has the gesture of a king. The artist constructs his figures by simplest means, by a line, by rubbing in a tone here and there. By what slight forms is the standing sage portrayed at the extreme left—a figure of brooding meditation, considering apart. The splendid suggestion of form in the figure at the right is only touched in.

It is a marvellous triumph of draughtsmanship, and the most powerful interpretation of the Epiphany in Italian, perhaps in any, art.

With Leonardo's removal to Milan in 1482, there came a new phase in his work. For sixteen years he was engaged off and on upon the great bronze *Equestrian Monument* to Francesco Sforza, the Duke's father, which was designed to gratify Ludovico's pride, and which after various difficulties—failures in casting, and the Duke's dilatoriness in payments—was exhibited with triumph in the full-sized plaster model in 1493, only finally to disappear in 1501, two years after Leonardo had left Milan.<sup>1</sup> While this work was dragging along, he composed his treatise on painting, and other writings, and became absorbed in the studies of anatomy and mathematics, which led to intimacies with physicians and scientists. He was called, in company with the Siense artist, Francesco di Giorgio, as consulting architect for the Cathedral of Pavia (1490). He made models for a dome for the

<sup>1</sup> For sketches for this statue, see Richter, *Lit. Works, etc.*, and B. B., *Flor. Drawings*.



Cathedral of Milan, and there are many architectural sketches of the period. Also, in spite of constant social activities, he executed pictures and frescoes now lost, and two existing paintings, the *Virgin of the Rocks* (Louvre), which came rather early in the period, and the *Last Supper*.

The *Virgin of the Rocks* is Leonardo's first great picture in Milan, and his first mature finished work. He seems here, in contrast to the *Adoration*, to limit his conception to the possibility of execution, and the finish is remarkable. The Virgin in the centre, against a strange grotto effect of jagged stalactite rocks with a hazy distance beyond, gazes in devotion upon the Child, who is set apart upon the ground. Her embracing arm is drawing the little St. John toward his master. Behind the little Christ kneels an angel, pointing to the St. John, and gazing in abstraction out of the picture. The figures are artificially illumined, and encompassed with dark shadows, the main pre-occupation being with scientific problems, especially of chiaroscuro. It is an experiment, not entirely successful, and one he never repeated. There is an almost forced elaboration of detail, considering the amazing ease and rapid draughtsmanship of his sketches of the same period. The rocks are archaic, and without atmosphere. The foreground flowers and draperies seem fettered, recalling the Uffizi *Annunciation*, even in technique. Nevertheless it is a lovely interpretation; the figures dominate the region, and create, as it were, their own surroundings, uniting plastic relief with a mystery due to their atmospheric setting.

The picture forms one of the interesting problems in attribution. Tradition indicates its presence in the collection of Francis I of France, but it is first mentioned in a document of 1642, as in the French royal collection at Fontainebleau. It finally naturally passed into the Louvre. Modern criticism, with hardly an exception, claimed the picture for Leonardo on internal evidence alone. But another picture, almost identical, and with a straight tradition of Leonardo's authorship, was brought to England in 1777. This came from the Church of San Francesco in Milan, and though dark and cold, and in general inferior to the Louvre picture, it was claimed as the original, of which the Louvre picture was the copy. The question is set at rest by archive records. Leonardo and a Milanese assistant, Ambrogio da Predis, received a commission to execute an *Altarpiece* for the

Church of San Francesco, Milan ; Leonardo to paint "a picture of Our Lady in oil," da Predis to paint two pictures of angels, and to make an altar-frame. Later, the two painters presented a petition (1491-4) for the adjustment of a difficulty in regard to the payment, which they claimed was too little. They requested that the painting be returned, and the inference is that this was done, and a copy by da Predis substituted, thus making a chain of circumstantial evidence to reinforce the internal evidence of the picture itself.<sup>1</sup>

**THE LAST SUPPER.**—It was toward the end of his life at Milan (in 1495) that Leonardo began the great *Last Supper* which covers the end wall of the former Refectory of the Convent of S. M. delle Grazie. Greatly injured, the surface rubbed and scratched, at one time a door cut through the lower part, enough is still found of Leonardo's personal art for judgment. The subject had been one of the regulation themes for convent dining-hall decoration from mediæval times, and most difficult to treat. Castagno realised the theme boldly, but he was unlovely ; del Sarto was vulgar in it. Leonardo's composition is orderly, the attitudes easy. The central figure of Christ is set apart by the massing of light and dark, by converging lines, and gesture. There is suggestion of great beauty in the face of Christ, and of variety of colour. But there are no tricks of emphasis. As always with Leonardo, the subtlety comes within simple forms. The scene is usually taken as representing the effect of the Master's words, "One of you shall betray Me." It suggests awe and tenderness, and religious emotion stirred to tragic depths ; and the picture remains the greatest expression of the subject in painting.

With the fall of Ludovico Sforza, Leonardo left Milan and travelled leisurely toward Venice, stopping at Mantua, and executing a portrait of Isabella d'Este, the brilliant wife of the Marquis Gonzaga, a portrait now known only by a drawing (Louvre). On finally reaching Florence, he naturally took a leading position. He was busy with various theoretical and other studies ; executed one great painting, the *Mona Lisa*, and began the wall-painting of the battle of Anghiari.

**MONA LISA.**—The portrait of *La Gioconda* or *Mona Lisa* (Louvre),<sup>2</sup> the Neapolitan wife of Francesco Gioconda, a promi-

<sup>1</sup> See Horne, *L. da Vinci*, 23, for fuller explanation of the doc. evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Announced as missing in Aug. 1911. Recovered in Florence, Dec. 1913.

gent Florentine citizen, is the most perfect and famous of Leonardo's well-preserved works. The lady, in half length, sits quietly in the open air, looking out with a fine dignity. As usual, Leonardo has followed traditional lines: the parapet and landscape of a Florentine villa. The contours are simple, and the figure is united to the landscape by the rippling lines of veil and mantle continued by a winding road into the distance. It is among the chief landscape backgrounds of the world, and perhaps more subjective than any other landscape of Leonardo. It represents distant, high mountain scenery, seen over a flat, well-watered country. The atmosphere, splendid with diffused illumination, seems palpable. It carries a memory of the heat mists of the Arno valley, of the vistas of the Alps of Monte Rosa seen from Milan—distances which Leonardo loved, and which he composed with the feeling of a poet. Only Turner approaches such landscape. The effect of the picture is of a deep vitreous enamel. Though darkened by time and chemical changes, it has a thrilling quality of tone and surface. The interpretation of his characterisations is still a mystery. Is she a deeply lovable woman? Is she one of calculating, profound selfishness? Every note of possibility has been sounded in the discussion. Whatever the artist's intention, there is a superb reality in the figure, a repose and yet vitality, an intimacy of characterisation which has set the picture apart as a supreme psychological portrait.

THE BATTLE OF ANGHIARI was Leonardo's second public commission of monumental importance. It was designed to decorate one wall of the great Council Chamber which had been built in 1495-96 at the back of the original portion of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence.<sup>1</sup> The contract was definitely voted by the Signoria in May 1504, a year after Leonardo's return from the service of Cesare Borgia. The cartoon seems to have been finished and arrangements made for the staging preparatory to the painting in February 1505. The subject was the battle between the Florentines and Milanese at Anghiari in 1440. Vasari describes a single group, usually called the *Battle of the Standard*, as actually painted. This represents a group of horsemen contending for the standard borne by one of them. Leonardo left Florence in 1506, and never continued the work. There

<sup>1</sup> For full information, see Horne's *Leonardo da Vinci*, 37-39. And for sketches, see Richter, *Lit. Works*, etc.

are references to this scrap of painting up to about the time when Vasari, soon after 1557, began to remodel the hall, and the inference seems to be that he destroyed it. There are several ancient copies, as a study in colour in the store-rooms of the Uffizi, which indicates its original state, and a pen-and-ink sketch by Raphael (Oxford). The greater part of the cartoon was said to have been left by Leonardo in safe storage in Florence when he went to France (1516), but it has now entirely disappeared. There are also sketches for it by Leonardo—three character studies in chalk of men in the rage of battle (Buda Pesth), and sketches of fighting horsemen in pen and ink (British Museum, Windsor, and Venice) which hint at a conception not far removed from the breadth and complexity of the *Adoration*, and which is confirmed by a letter written in 1549 which speaks of "a group of horses and men, a portion of the battle of Leonardo da Vinci, that will appear a marvellous thing to you," a judgment confirmed by Cellini, who says in his Autobiography of Leonardo's cartoon and of M. Angelo's for the opposite wall, that "they were the school of the world."

Of this same period we have a description (written in 1501) of the cartoon for a *Madonna and Child and S. Anne*, and again a picture of the same subject is described (in 1517) as in Leonardo's studio in Cloux, and as being of the highest perfection. The picture of this subject now in the Louvre is finished only in parts, but the landscape and the beautiful head of S. Anne bear unmistakable evidences of Leonardo's hand. It is evidently a variation upon the cartoon of the Royal Academy, London. A *Leda and the Swan* is also reported from this period. We know it only from little sketches for the subject by Leonardo and from the numerous variations of the theme by artists following him. A half-length youthful *S. John* was sketched in during this period, and was also seen in Leonardo's studio at Cloux.<sup>1</sup>

WRITINGS AND DRAWINGS.—Leonardo's genius cannot be estimated without considering both his drawings and writings. His treatises on painting and other subjects reveal the breadth and penetration of his mind, and are full of interest in themselves, apart from the light they throw upon his character and work. They consist of some 5000 pages of manuscript writings on scien-

<sup>1</sup> The figure of this subject in the Louvre has been assigned to Leonardo, but is surely not by him.

Walde has excellent illustrations. Muntz is profusely illustrated, but does not distinguish the unauthentic drawings.

I.—EARLY FLORENTINE PERIOD:

1. *Landscape of 1473*, Uffizi.
2. *Lion and Griffin*, Uffizi. Authenticated especially by the *Madonna* sketches on the same sheet, whose character justifies the ascription to Leonardo, and to about the year 1478. Vasari mentions this type of work.
3. Dated drawing of 1478, *Two Profiles*, Uffizi.
4. Various studies for *Madonnas*, Windsor, generally ascribed to this period.
5. *Bernardo di Bandini* (hanging body), Bonnat collection, Louvre.
6. Studies for the *Adoration*: (1) *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Bonnat collection, Louvre; (2) Galichon sketch for the entire composition, Louvre, most delightful of the three; (3) Study for the architecture and figures in background, Uffizi, and others.

II.—FIRST MILANESE PERIOD:

1. Studies for the *Virgin of the Rocks*; (1) *Head of Angel*, Turin; (2) *Study of Drapery*, Windsor, for the Angel.
2. Studies for the *Last Supper*: (1) *Drawing of Composition* (Venice); (2) *Heads of Philip, etc.*, Windsor; (3) *Head of Christ* (Milan), repainted out of all recognition of Leonardo's hand.
3. Studies for the *Equestrian Statue of Sforza*, all at Windsor, except one from Codex Atlan., Milan, Ambrosiana, and fragment of drawing representing walking horse, Ambrosiana.
4. *Neptune* drawing, Windsor, and others.

III.—SECOND FLORENTINE PERIOD:

1. Drawings for the *Battle of Anghiari*: (1) Two studies of heads of warriors, Buda-Pesth, London; (2) Head and other sketches, Windsor; (3) Sketches and studies, Venice Academy; (4) Sketch of horseman fighting, British Museum.
2. *Cartoon for the Virgin and S. Anne*, Burlington House, London, Royal Academy, and study for a similar composition, Venice, c. 1502. Anatomical, mechanical, botanical, and landscape studies, throughout his life.

## LESSER HIGH RENAISSANCE PAINTERS

FOLLOWING Leonardo, the supreme painters of the central Italian tradition are Michelangelo and Raphael. All three grew up under the shadow of the men of the Early Renaissance. All outlived the great epoch, and before Michelangelo's death the decadence, except in Venice, was fully under way; but Venice counted little in Florentine art, and as a setting to Michelangelo and Raphael we must consider the lesser Florentines.

### I

#### PUPILS OF LEONARDO<sup>1</sup>

No direct pupil of Leonardo is highly important. During his maturity Venetian painting was dominant in Italy, and his influence is to be seen more in northern Europe. But he influenced several able painters of Milan, as the master of the *Sforza Altarpiece* (Brera), Bergognone, Luini, and Sodoma. Raphael studied Leonardo, and began to free himself from conventional formulas. In this sense Leonardo was a teacher of all who followed. Specific influence is harder to trace except in case of imitators of external style. In Florence, Piero di Cosimo most understood Leonardo's poetic interpretation of nature, and in his interest in tone in late work shows Leonardo's influence. Fra Bartolommeo also was influenced, both directly and through Piero, as in the early *Noli Me Tangere* (Louvre), and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in his remarkable portraits, though in some of the figures he catches Leonardo's external features rather than his spirit. Leonardo's influence in chiaroscuro may be seen in the 16th-century Flemings, as van Orley and Patiner. In general, later

<sup>1</sup> Morelli, Richter, and Frizzoni are the authorities for all the late men; also Berenson, *N. It.*

and modern artists admired rather than imitated. Yet there may sometimes be seen among them the influence of his incisive and vivid drawing, and his insistence upon a naturalistic basis.

Among his earliest direct Milanese pupils were Ambrogio da Predis and Boltraffio. Solario, though showing his influence, is independent. Later assistants include Sodoma, Marco d'Oggiono, de' Conti, Salai, Melzi, Gianpietrino, and Cesare da Sesto. Other imitators are of little importance. Foppa's influence had been toward the ideals of Padua, early Verona, and Venice, but the presence of Leonardo in Milan as official painter (especially in his second sojourn) practically destroyed the native initiative. A provincial school without great leadership could scarcely resist Leonardo's personal fascination. But the imitation is superficial, and not an organic development. The strongest spirits kept to their own way. The imitators of Leonardo count for little, or have even obscured the quality of their master's work. Yet some men show personal qualities, as Boltraffio and Andrea Solario.<sup>1</sup>

Solario (active 1493-1515), starting with native teaching, was developed by Alvise Vivarini, and finally was influenced by Leonardo. In 1490 he went to Venice with his famous brother, the sculptor Cristoforo Solario, and was called to France in 1507. His early style is seen in the *Holy Family with S. Jerome* (1495, Milan), which is typical of his Foppesque manner. The influence of Venice appears especially in his severe and powerful portraits, as the *Venetian Senator* in London. His late style appears in the *Rest in the Flight* (1515, Milan)—a fine example of the complete development of the school. His eclecticism is shown in the *Madonna of the Green Cushion* (Paris), where appears together the naturalism of the Milanese school, Venetian richness of colour, a Leonardesque child, and dark middle distance; the detailed landscape is in the vein of Bergamasque masters like Previtali; while some survival of Alvise Vivarini and Antonello is seen in the precision and the indefinable quattrocento feeling.<sup>2</sup> Except in a few portraits, however, Solario, for all his vigorous talent, never transcends the mediocre.

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from Antonio Solario, the Venetian who worked at Naples. Bode and B. B. See Antonello's influence. See Claude Phillips, *Burl.* XIX, 252 and 287.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Alvise's *Madonna* (Redentore, Venice), for horizontal lines of composition.

**Boltraffio**, 1467-1516.—Of all Leonardo's followers, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio is the most sensitive, and the least a copyist. He was a well-grown lad when Leonardo settled in Milan, and in his independent Milanese style he recalls Andrea Solario and perhaps shows a Foppesque derivation, as in the superb if matter-of-fact *Man and Woman Praying*, with a beautiful landscape (Brera); but in the *Narcissus* (Uffizi)<sup>1</sup> he translates the background of Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*; and the *Lady with a Weasel* (Cracow)<sup>2</sup> is close to Leonardo himself in portraiture, and there are two beautiful unfinished portraits in chalk—the *Isabella of Aragon* and the *Male Portrait* (Ambrosiana).

**Ambrogio da Predis** (active 1482-1506), Leonardo's assistant, seems to have been early educated in Foppa's school, and his *Francesco Sforza as a Child* (Glasgow)<sup>3</sup> shows the two styles together. He is interesting to critics mainly as the copyist of Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*<sup>4</sup> and as the reputed author of such strong portraits as the *Musician* (Milan), which has been also attributed to Leonardo. His signed works, as the *Emperor Maximilian* (1502, Vienna), have no marked individuality.

Among the later assistants, MARCO D'OGGIONO (died c. 1530) is the least original of Leonardo's imitators, reducing his types to a convention. But in spite of an often trivial conception and rather cold, hard colour, he shows considerable invention and a certain brilliant concentration of hue, as in the globe in the *Salvator Mundi* in the Borghese. CESARE DA SESTO,<sup>5</sup> less racy than Solario, is an academic, eclectic painter, mainly formed on Leonardo, of little real importance, though of independent talent. Portraiture became a more important feature in Lombard art with BERNARDINO DE' CONTI (active c. 1490-1522), a pupil, perhaps, of Zenale, who was an imitator and at times an assistant of Leonardo. He is known mainly by signed portraits, vigorous but often provincial, as the somewhat archaic *Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Milan). But his hardness of style, derived from the academic, realistic school, is at times conquered by breadth and

<sup>1</sup> Another version is in the possession of Maj.-Gen. Sir E. A. Ellis, London.

<sup>2</sup> Attrib. by B. B.

<sup>3</sup> Reprod., *L'Arte*, V, 122. Many poor drawings once given to Leonardo are now given to da Predis.

<sup>4</sup> Copy in London, see p. 218 f.

<sup>5</sup> See Claude Phillips, *Burl. Mag.*, XIII, 34-8, an admirable characterization: also Frizzoni's *Essays*.



a fine portrait insight—as in the *Cardinal* (1499), a profile in red cap and mantle, in Berlin. He seems to grow to larger stature in the impressive *Enthroned Madonna with SS.*, and in the group of *Ludovico il Moro, Beatrice d'Este, and their Boys* (1494, Milan).<sup>1</sup> This last is the masterpiece in monumental work of the realistic following of Foppa, not the less typically local for the imitation of Leonardo in the *Virgin and Child*; the powerful portrait characterisation makes it, in fact, private rather than public art. The same hand may perhaps be seen in the beautiful but constrained *Madonna of the Litta Family* (S. Petersburg). Of Leonardo's servant SALAI, and the possible paintings of his friend FRANCESCO MELZI, who collected Leonardo's manuscripts, we know little. Other minor names in this milieu, as the prolific GIANPIETRINO, an imitator of Leonardo, of minor talent and tiresome character, are for specialists only.

## II

### PIER DI COSIMO<sup>2</sup>

1462-1521

Leonardo's influence is present in Florence, among a group of eclectic painters who feel the mental spur of the new style—its freedom, its accomplished technique—yet for want of culture or natural gifts cannot see its deeper meanings, and work in narrow paths.

By far the most interesting of the group was Pier di Cosimo (1462-1521), the gifted pupil and assistant of Rosselli, who, though narrow and eccentric, has a strange originality. There is something that suggests the fantasies of certain northern painters; he may have seen North Italy, though he seems a Florentine of the Florentines, and he may have found in Leonardo's grotesques sufficient food for bizarre and romantic thought, as in his *Perseus and Andromeda* (Uffizi), with exotic motives and a fantastic background recalling Signorelli. But his pictures have more serious aspects. He carries out the naturalism of Pollajuolo in unexpected ways, and brings the landscape of Filippino to a

<sup>1</sup> Some critics, as Frizzoni, are not ready to identify the author. B. B. questions it.

<sup>2</sup> Monograph by F. Knapp.

more varied and objective stage.<sup>1</sup> His portraiture is very important; he has a picture at the Hague of *Giuliano Sangallo and his Father* which is almost Dutch in precision and finish, and is on a broad scheme like a Ghirlandaio portrait; also a *Man in Armour* (London), and in the fresco of the *Destruction of Pharaoh* (Sistine Chapel) there is among other heads one especially fascinating and eager which is said to be his own.<sup>2</sup> The majority of his works are rather dry in quality, in spite of originality in colour and occasional breadth in style. Toward the end of his life we find in a few works a poetic perception of fleeting effects of light and colour, as in the *Judgment of Solomon* (Borghese), unknown to most of his contemporaries and doubtless due to Leonardo's influence. But he is not one of the great designers. He is a "child of nature," a sympathetic and inventive artist, with a touch of the decadence, of the vague yearnings, the eclecticism of the age.

It was his two pupils, Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, who generalised his formulas and gave them a certain classic dignity, without surpassing their narrower master in essential originality and feeling.

### III

#### ANDREA DEL SARTO; FRA BARTOLOMMEO; ALBERTINELLI

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), Fra Bartolommeo (1475-1517), and Albertinelli (1474-1515) form a notable group, which, however, falls quite below the first rank. They seem born too late for the highest ambition. They are influenced and left behind by the giants in whom the High Renaissance culminated, and they paved the way for the mannerists of the final period.

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), a pupil of Piero di Cosimo, was influenced by his fellow-pupil, Fra Bartolommeo, and by Michelangelo. Talented, industrious, perceptive, he is always trembling on the brink of an achievement which he never

<sup>1</sup> See arts. by Wm. Rankin and F. J. Mather, Jr., *Burl. Mag.*, X, 332, and by Wm. Rankin, *Rass. d'Arte*, V, 25.

<sup>2</sup> A head behind the Moses, reprod. Vent., VII, Pt. i. fig. 328.

secures. The technical facility and precocity of his great talent is marked by the wonderful ease of the *Frescoes* of the Annunziata cloister. His drawings, as the *Study of Hands* (Uffizi) and of *Dogs* (Louvre), prove his close observation and serious ambition. The same care is shown in all his chief pictures. Of these the *Charity* (Louvre), a picture of superb technique, is of the heroic type, in the votive tradition, although Michelangelo's influence leaves a sense of derivation; and the *Madonna del Sacco* in Florence, looming out like a pedimental figure, is a specimen of mural design. The large classic feeling has no finer exponent, but there is a personal limitation hard to describe, which leaves us unsatisfied. The form is cold, rising to elaborate picturesqueness at times in the *Story of Joseph* (Pitti), and at times degenerating into vulgar and obvious motives, like those of the *Cenacolo* in S. Salvi (Florence). His *Story of Joseph* is typical of the over-developed Florentine style, and shows del Sarto as master of every academic virtue, with facile invention and lucid ordering of all the elements from actual life—the actors, the country farm, the mountain distance and sky, all with gracious play of mass and line and colour, and with pleasant sentiment. The lacking essential is a real reason for the scene. It satisfies every external demand of elaborate painting, but it is pseudo-classic and pseudo-human—an intelligent performance of an empty drama, a triumph of the eclectic spirit. The next step is into the abyss of triviality, the decadence of the later Florentine naturalism. As Andrea's central success stand a few unforgettable portraits, one of *Himself* (Uffizi); of his evidently light-minded *Wife* (?) (Uffizi); of others, as the *Sculptor* (London), all painted with a touch of romantic, dreamy pensiveness. What in general redeems him is his Latin sense for human dignity and his intelligent feeling for style—his classic rectitude and discipline. In these he is still a teacher.

His influence appears in various little men. ROSSO FIORENTINO (1494–1541), a pupil of Andrea del Sarto, may be seen in certain portraits debatably ascribed to him, as the *Michelangelo* of magnificent power in the Uffizi, and a *Filelfo the Humanist* in Philadelphia. The popular *Angel with Lute* (Uffizi) forecasts the 17th century, and the *Madonna and Saints* (Uffizi) is racy and unconventional in del Sarto's style, but freely painted and agreeably original. The works of FRANCESCO UBERTINI, called

BACCHIACCA (c. 1494-1557),<sup>1</sup> are usually little pictures in del Sarto's more discursive vein, with some influence from Raphael and Perugino. He is independent, picturesque, and rather interesting in incident and detail, and would count for more except that he is inveterately derivative. FRANCIABIGIO (1482-1525), still more copyistic, is mannered in his portraits, loose in fresco, and seldom achieves any distinction. With him comes DOMENICO PULIGO (1475-1527), another follower of del Sarto. His male portraits (Panshanger, England) follow the classic tradition, and the *Piero Carnesecchi* (Pitti) is typical of good late Florentine portraiture. With these men also really belongs MICHELE DI RIDOLFO, a late and obscure painter, who is serious and has definite dignity, and a charming, dry, cool colour and treatment. But the style in general became merged in the baroque.

**Fra Bartolommeo** (Baccio della Porta), 1475-1517.—Perhaps because of his religious bias, Fra Bartolommeo, Savonarola's friend, reflects less than del Sarto the trend of late Florentine science and naturalism. Perugino worked in Florence during Fra Bartolommeo's youth, and his influence as well as Leonardo's is seen in the Frate's early works mingling with that of Piero di Cosimo's fluency, as in the *Noli Me Tangere* (Louvre). This is seen in the sense for spacial distribution, the tendency to symmetrical composition, the contemplative mood. Landscape is a notable feature illustrated in many backgrounds, sometimes as if in the twilight of the hill country near Florence, treated broadly like a landscape by Claude or Ruysdael, and with a profoundly intimate tone; and also especially the fine unfinished scene of *Adam and Eve*, in Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> In execution his pictures are in general over-scrupulous, which reminds one of Perugino and di Credi. But the High Renaissance breadth of view is illustrated in the *Madonna* of San Marco and in the *Holy Family* in the Pitti. At times and in later years the over-studied and grandiose effect vitiates the style, as in the *Resurrection* (Pitti). He can degenerate to mere rhetorical effects, and the formal scheme is too evident, even in impressive works like the *Deposition* (Pitti). But the aim is noble, and the style had a compelling effect upon

<sup>1</sup> See his attractive *Portrait of Youth*, Louvre. See Morelli for analysis of him.

<sup>2</sup> See masterly bit of criticism by Mr. Mather, *Burl. Mag.*, IX, 1906, 352.

Raphael, who for two years was an intimate comrade of Fra Bartolommeo's in Florence.

**Albertinelli**,<sup>1</sup> 1474-1515.—Fra Bartolommeo's co-worker, Mariotto Albertinelli, has little originality, and can be baroque, as in the *Annunciation* of the Florence Academy, but he has a certain picturesque vein like Filippino's, and succeeds best in a miniature-like craft, as in the *Triptych* (1500) in Milan, where the influence of Fra Bartolommeo's early and idyllic style is marked. Another example, also early, is the academic *Visitation* (Uffizi), and he has a dignified altarpiece, *Madonna and Saints*, in the Louvre. Another assistant, PAOLINO of Pistoia, has an interesting but derivative work in S. Domenico in his native place. With these secondary masters the classic is merely external. It was in frankly secular ideals, in portraiture especially, that the later Florentines were themselves.

#### IV

Belonging to this generation and also influenced by Piero di Cosimo are certain other minor artists who represent the current modification of style towards the larger rhythms and generalised motives of the High Renaissance.

FRANCESCO GRANACCI (1477-1543)<sup>2</sup> is a minor but interesting eclectic of uneven powers who was first trained, like so many of the High Renaissance men, by Domenico Ghirlandaio. This training is seen in a *Pietà* (Philadelphia) which is notable for its gay colour, charming landscape, and brilliant execution, in which the theme is entirely lost in the picturesque elements, an indifference characteristic of the decadence of the time. Of his more mature style the *Madonna Giving her Girdle to S. Thomas* (Uffizi) is characteristic, a rather empty and theatrical picture without compensating dignity or breadth, which illustrates the effect upon minor artists of the looseness of the High Renaissance. The aspect of Granacci as a portrait painter is interesting,<sup>3</sup> as so often with third-rate Italian artists, and in this he seems to have taught Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.<sup>4</sup> BUGIARDINI (1475-1554), a follower

<sup>1</sup> See F. Knapp in *Th.-B. Lex.* on Albertinelli.

<sup>2</sup> First studied with care by Morelli. Many works attributed only on internal evidence, but the personality is clear.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maddalena Strossi as S. Catherine* (Borghese).

<sup>4</sup> According to Morelli, on internal evidence.

of Ghirlandaio,<sup>1</sup> is more individual than others, but without much initiative. Like Granacci, he belongs to the High Renaissance in the main, and is eclectic, influenced by his greater contemporaries. His monumental style<sup>2</sup> gradually emancipated itself into an easy and open composition, and often has deep chiaroscuro and an original twilight colour scheme. A personal, somewhat pensive emotional tone reminds us of Piero di Cosimo, without his crisp abandon to a romantic mood. But if such portraits are his as the *Young Man* (Louvre),<sup>3</sup> we must rank Bugiardini high among the romantic spirits. It is a subjective and moody type, showing the self-conscious spirit which marks much of later Florentine painting and seems to be a reflection of the moral questioning of the age. The eclectic RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO (1483-1561), a pupil of Granacci and a connection of Domenico Ghirlandaio, quite belongs with the later men. He has been confused with Leonardo in his fine if literal portraits, as the *Goldsmith* (Pitti), and with Raphael in the *Donna Gravida* (1509, Pitti). His *Procession to Calvary* (London), early from its style, recalls Ghirlandaio's school by its 15th-century feeling.<sup>4</sup> His *Legend of the Girdle* (Prato) is interesting as showing the transition from quattrocento to cinquecento form. His portraits have some psychology and objective power; the *Madonna and Saints* (1508, Pistoia), one of his best pictures, is dignified and monumental, and the *Nativity* (Berlin) has a pleasant popular style; but his descriptive compositions, of which the *Miracles of S. Zanobi* are typical, indicate the limitations of the decadence. They are grandiose and cold. The manner negatives Early Renaissance refinement and vitality.

It is a relief to turn again to the great masters.

<sup>1</sup> Also a pupil of Piero di Cosimo, according to B. B.

<sup>2</sup> See *S. John in the Desert* (Bologna); *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Catherine, Anthony of Padua, and Infant John* (Bologna), and examples in the Uffizi.

<sup>3</sup> Attrib. to Bugiardini by B. B. It has also been given to Franciabigio.

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo's influence also in this. Cf. Benedetto Ghirlandaio's *Procession to Calvary*, Louvre.

the master's works, and also the most tender and lovely. The conception is fresh yet religious, poetic yet searching for natural truth.<sup>1</sup> It combines classic reserve with a memory in the drapery of della Quercia.

DAVID.—He returned to Florence in March 1501, when twenty-six years old, and the story of the following period is one of strenuous labours, of all-night studies in anatomy, of self-imposed discipline and growing fame, and from then until his death he was occupied with important public commissions. The first was for the *David*, which was commissioned in 1501, and set up in the Piazza Signoria in May 1504. The *David*, like the *Pietà*, is a consummate application of science to art. Its spirit is essentially the spirit of Donatello and Verrocchio, using truth to the actual model as a basis for ideal beauty. The standing youth with alert pose is described, to the veins beneath the skin. Some of the details would be even ugly without the suggestion of heroic act. Mr. Cox says that it is "the work of a student, surely the most wonderful student who ever lived, but still a student learning truth, not yet a supreme master expressing feeling."<sup>2</sup> Yet even in his early sculpture knowledge is not an ultimate end. The somewhat literal *David* is dominated by a typical idea. It is an image not indeed of the Biblical *David*, but of athletic youth itself.<sup>3</sup>

The *David* was followed by other orders: the commission for twelve apostles to decorate the exterior of the Duomo, of which one only was begun—the *S. Matthew*—but this figure, partly hewn, is instinct with imaginative force which foretells the creations of the Julian and Medici tombs, a *Madonna and Child* in the round (1506), now at Bruges, two circular *Madonna Reliefs* (one in the Bargello, Florence, and one in London) and the tondo of the *Holy Family* (Uffizi), painted for the Doni family. This last, executed about 1503, while the artist was still working on the *David*, is his only existing finished panel painting. Though uninspired, it is interesting for its hint of his

<sup>1</sup> The artist Mr. Kenyon Cox speaks of the dead Christ as "perhaps the most wonderful piece of purely realistic sculpture in existence," *Old Masters and New*, 33.

<sup>2</sup> His numerous anatomical drawings are the most forceful of their kind in the world.

<sup>3</sup> Remarkable wax models for the lower limbs of the work exist, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; reprod. well by Symonds, *op. cit.*, I, 96 and 100.

painting to come in the Sistine Chapel. The picture is a consciously academic study with Ghirlandaio's technique, his over-studied composition and hard colour, though without his elaboration of detail. He is not yet free except in the nude background figures, which are felt with a Greek suavity and ease, and in their breadth recall Signorelli. It is indeed not to Ghirlandaio, but to Signorelli and his forerunners, that Michelangelo's art must be traced. There is, of course, an infinite artistic gap between them and him. No single painter can be looked upon as a true forerunner of the master of the Sistine Ceiling. Yet Signorelli's mighty figures at Loreto are in the same kind, and lead us back to the majestic presences of Piero della Francesca and Masaccio. Even supreme genius is no accident. Michelangelo is the logical culmination of their initiative and breadth.

**PISAN WAR.**—In 1504 he received the order for the decoration of one wall of the new Council Chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio, opposite the wall on which the veteran Leonardo was then working. Like Leonardo's, the *Cartoon* and a section of fresco was all that was ever finished. Yet the work took his countrymen by storm, and it was upon this as much as upon the *David* that his fame rested. It represented an incident of the war with Pisa of 1354, one of the outbursts of the chronic strife continually waging between the rival cities. Florentine soldiers surprised while bathing in the Arno—in the water, scrambling out, and hastily dressing on the bank—gave a theme for every possible attitude of the male nude, and the remaining sketches and copies indicate that all the anatomical science of Michelangelo's past years was called into play, but with the student's interest in the forms themselves rather than in any underlying imaginative idea.<sup>1</sup>

**JULIAN TOMB.**—The *Cartoon* was interrupted by Michelangelo's summons to Rome by Julius II early in 1505. From this time his career under the patronage of four successive Popes was one long series of colossal undertakings in Rome and Florence in sculpture, painting, and architecture, culminating in

<sup>1</sup> Left unfinished, all traces have disappeared except as follows: 1. Copy in "grisaille," Holkham Hall, faithful as far as it goes; 2. Engraving by Marcantonio (1512); 3. Engraving by Agostino Veneziano (1524), both faithful copyists; 4. Black chalk scrawl, faithful as far as it goes.

*Sketches by Michelangelo:* 1. Drawings (Louvre); 2. Sketch of Skirmish of Horse and Foot (British Museum); 3. Four Sketches of Horse and Nudes (Oxford).



the dome of St. Peter's, each except the Sistine ceiling doomed to inadequate support and consequent incompleteness. Julius' first commission was for a colossal tomb to symbolise the Church triumphant in the person of its latest pontiff. The tomb was planned for the chancel of the great St. Peter's which was to take the place of the old Basilica, of the 5th century, already being demolished. Michelangelo sketched a scheme<sup>1</sup> involving many figures in an imposing architectural setting, and he was hurried off to the quarries of Carrara to select the marble. There were delays and losses of material, and months elapsed before the artist was again in Rome and at work. He still held the enthusiastic confidence of Julius, and had the entrée of the Pope's most private hours. It was not strange, however, that with Michelangelo's irascibility and solitary habit he should have found scant favour among the politicians of the Papal Court. Raphael was introduced to the Pope, and became the centre of a rival faction. Julius was troubled by many affairs; he was contemplating a campaign against the recalcitrant Bolognese, and money was scarce; he was old, and there were those to warn him that a tomb built while living brought ill-augury. Thus harassed, he dropped the magnificent design, and broke with his great artist. Michelangelo, refused admission to the Vatican, returned in heat to Florence (spring of 1506), where he quietly finished the *Cartoon of the Pisan War*. It was some months later (November 1506) that he was prevailed upon by Julius to join him in Bologna, just subdued to the Pope's rule. Here he was set to execute a colossal bronze *Statue of Julius* to stand over the entrance of the Church of S. Petronio; but again there were difficulties—the casting failed—and it was not in place until February 1508.<sup>2</sup>

SISTINE CEILING.—Returning from Bologna (March 1508), Michelangelo, after a few months' interval in Florence, passed on to Rome, and sorely against his will abandoned the tomb, and commenced at the Pope's command the decoration of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which was to be his most successful work. It was composed of a multitude of figures of gigantic size. The

<sup>1</sup> An india ink drawing by Michelangelo for the first design is in the Uffizi. Reprod., Symonds, I, 138. For description, see Symonds; Holroyd; Grimm, *Life of Michelangelo*.

<sup>2</sup> Destroyed 1511 in an uprising of the city.

Fig. 79.



SISTINE CHAPEL BEFORE MICHELANGELO.  
(From old Print.)

*Anderson.*

Fig. 80.



SISTINE CHAPEL AS AT PRESENT.

*Anderson.*

Fig. 81.



*Atinari.*

CREATION OF ADAM.  
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Fig. 82.



THE FALL.  
Page 239.

Fig. 83.



THE DELUGE.  
Page 239.

THE SISTINE CHAPEL, CEILING, ROME.  
MICHELANGELO.



first part was finished in a little over eight months, and the second half, begun January 1510, was finished in October 1512, in spite of the interruptions of brief journeys. We can picture the artist working alone except for mechanical aid, scarcely eating, sleeping undressed, and the aged Pope goading him on. Although the series begins with the creation at the altar end of the chapel, Michelangelo began to paint at the entrance, and his monumental sense grew as he proceeded, as may be seen in the increase in scale from the earlier to the later pictures—the smaller size of the figures in the *Deluge*, for example, and *Jonah's* great bulk. What especially distinguishes the work is the architectural framework and a peculiar monumental power in single figures and groups. As in much Greek art, the significance of the bodily structure is expressed apart from the head. As the master's first stage in his Florentine work was to realise the human body, the second step was to conceive the body in its heroic aspect, and in the end a passionate imagination entirely transcended the form. His ethical sense transfigures the physical presences with the glory of existence itself.

The difficult compositional problem was solved with the finest decorative and architectural skill. He divided the long expanse of ceiling into nine scenes in rectangles, alternately large and small, which are supported and connected by athletes and genii—supreme examples of a decorative employment of movement—and by a painted architectural framework. Knitting and supporting this framework are great seated figures of prophets and sibyls. Below are subsidiary supporting scenes in the Old Testament story.

The descriptive motive is the great drama of Creation and the Fall, the hope of salvation, and man's continued frailty. The compositions are full of meaning and variety—the whirling force of the early creation subjects; the grace of Adam touched with the finger of the Almighty, where the sublime moment of the Creator's work is expressed in the impact of spirit upon body, and the awakening of man, full of vigour, to his normal life on earth, frankly appeals on elemental physical grounds—the representation of Deity, if admitted at all, has no more noble type; the passion and tragedy of the *Fall*, the desperate human incidents and superhuman beauty in the *Deluge*, where the affinity between Michelangelo and Signorelli's composition and

Myron-like action is especially notable. Prophets and wise women are conceived as great presences who have seen into divine mysteries. Pictorial accessories are subordinated, landscape, for example, being suggestive only. Yet what is more sheerly expressive than the tree and setting in the *Fall*, and the dreary waste of the *Expulsion*? Old compositions are sometimes used, as the *Expulsion*, which follows Masaccio almost line by line, and the figure of the Creator in the *Creation of Adam* is also Masaccio's.<sup>1</sup> The *Creation of Eve* is taken from della Quercia, though the whole composition and intent are original.

The quiet colour-tone, though sometimes lacking in his work, here in the Sistine ceiling is essential to the expression.<sup>2</sup>

Julius' successor,<sup>3</sup> Leo X, son of Lorenzo di Medici, though friendly to Michelangelo, preferred the society of more genial spirits. Raphael, already established in the city, was a prime favourite, and work in Florence was proposed to Buonarroti. Hereafter, for some twenty years, his time passed in architectural and sculptural undertakings—in designing a sculptured façade (never executed) for the Church of S. Lorenzo in Florence; in building the Laurentian Library at its side; in constructing city defences; in designing the new Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, and executing there the great Medici tombs;<sup>4</sup> in completing for members of the Rovere family the garbled design for Julius II's interrupted tomb. The Medici and the Julian tombs are the master's greatest sculptural undertakings. Indeed he always looked upon sculpture as his true vocation, and he is less original as a pictorial composer than in relating a plastic ensemble to its architectural setting, as in the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, or as the builder of compact sculptured groups, as his late *Deposition* in Florence. Even when compelled to paint or to turn architect his mind was busy on vast sculptural projects.

**MEDICI TOMBS.**—From 1524 to 1533 he was executing the two memorial tombs in the new Sacristy of S. Lorenzo in honour of the Medici princes, Giuliano and Lorenzo—the son

<sup>1</sup> For the effect of Masaccio upon him, see his biographers and Benvenuto Cellini.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Cox, *Old Masters and New*, 38 f.

<sup>3</sup> Julius died in Feb. 1513.

<sup>4</sup> Michelangelo left Florence in 1535, leaving the Laurentian Library and the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo unfinished. None of his monumental compositions in sculpture were completed.

Fig. 84.



*Anderson.*

**TOMB OF GIULIANO DI MEDICI.**  
Day and Night.

**MICHELANGELO.**

Page 241.

Fig. 85.



*Alinari.*

**DETAIL OF TOMB.**  
Day.

New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.



and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The spacious chapel itself is wholly designed by Michelangelo and executed by his assistants. The two dukes are represented seated—*Giuliano, Duke of Nemours*, with the raised head of action, on the opposite wall *Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino*, his face under its helmet in shadowed meditation. Reclining beneath *Giuliano* are the two colossal mysterious figures, male and female, of *Day* and *Night*. Below *Lorenzo* are the superb figures of *Dawn* and *Evening*. Against a third wall, opposite the altar, is placed a *Madonna and Child*, of the same heroic mould, and intended for a more complete setting. The figures are uneven in execution, in places left rough-hewn, in parts having the finest finish. There is the completest knowledge of the figure, together with impossible proportions and attitudes. Yet so noble is the design, so true the construction, so heart-searching the feeling, that one recognises a genius who, knowing all the laws, could dare when he needed to break them. They well illustrate the fact that Michelangelo in the bulk of his work cares more for the end than the means, and transcends all traditional canons. In the nervously tooled surface-textures and the handling in general of the master's later sculpture, as well as in the summary drawings and sweeping execution of the frescoes, one feels the grasp and touch of the trained hand let loose.<sup>1</sup> Ideal effects are enhanced by leaving the work at times in the rough. The appeal is more and more to our imagination from the precision and finish of the *Pietà* and the *David*.

Turning again to the *Julian Tomb*, Michelangelo proceeded with little heart, and after various delays and financial difficulties it was finally set up in S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome (1545). Of this the upper part was executed by others, and the two statues called *Rachel* and *Leah* (worked on by assistants?) bear little of the marks of the master, but the seated *Moses* in the centre, begun and probably nearly finished by Michelangelo in the first two years of his conception of the tomb (1505–1506), which had rested for forty years in his studio, is worthy of the great enterprise it inaugurated. The intensity and loftiness of spirit of the Hebrew Lawgiver, foreseeing, profound, grand, is imagined as never elsewhere. Other statues which are referred

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the brusque intervals and amazing modulations of Beethoven's latest sonatas, or the unprecedented impressionism of Rembrandt's greatest etchings.



to the original design for the tomb are the two so-called *Slaves*, of the Louvre, of extraordinary grace and beauty, an epitome of pathos; and the four *Figures*, barely suggested and still embedded in the marble, now in the Academy, Florence.

LAST JUDGMENT.<sup>1</sup>—The artist was recalled to Rome in 1534 by Clement VII, who commissioned the completion of the Sistine Chapel by the decoration of the end opposite the entrance with a picture of the *Last Judgment*, an undertaking endorsed by the immediately succeeding Paul III. The windows on the end wall were blocked up, the three pictures by Perugino and the lunettes by Michelangelo himself were destroyed, and the whole space was filled by the new fresco. It is easy to regard the work as decadent and baroque. This struggling mass of bodies is far enough removed from the lucidity and restraint of the ceiling above. Michelangelo's soul was not serene, and his hand was ageing. But gradually a motive appears in the disorder. The central figure of Christ appears with the shrinking Virgin. On each side are ranged the saints and martyrs; above a tumult of angels are carrying and presenting the instruments of the Passion. Below, on right and left, are the Redeemed and Lost. Below the throne, in the centre of a band of open sky, is a group of angels sounding the last trump, and in the lowest zone is a narrow fragment of solid earth on one side with opened graves and ascending bodies, and on the other Lucifer and his loathsome crew. He has again exalted the nude into a sheer type of imaginative expression. There is profuse variety and interplay of forms—foreshortened arms and legs, involved groups, surging and plunging figures—yet the composition is ordered, the groups close-knit, motion is regulated by large balancing curves. There are individual passages of sweetness, as the Blessed stooping to help their awakening friends, the lovely face of an angel, the solemn adoration of a martyr head near the throne, the radiant S. Sebastian (of the young Apollo type); and there is fine drawing, yet in general there is overaction and exaggeration in muscles, and figures suggesting the daring experiments of Tintoretto and Correggio. There is sombreness of conception: the Christ (a pagan type) is unrelenting, the martyrs rejoice in the fall of the damned, one sinking soul has a face of frozen horror, Lucifer is a hideous creation;

<sup>1</sup> The colour is ruined by time. The draperies were in most cases added later by Daniele da Volterra, by the direction of Pope Paul IV.

yet there is power in the inevitable movement of groups upward and downward, and there remains something of the master's gospel of human dignity. Even the human agony at the final hour becomes an heroic catastrophe.

As with Signorelli and the master of the *Triumph of Death*, humanity is the centre of Michelangelo's conception of the sublime resolution of the mysteries of life in a final adjudication. Deeply religious in temperament, although indifferent to theoretical theology, the master's sense for realities was too strong to admit of those graceful compromises common to current votive painting. He proclaims an heroic ideal of life as a religious motive, a faith painfully wrought out by a sorrowful, bewildered, and wearied spirit. If not Christian, it is deliberately religious.

Michelangelo was now recognised as the Nestor of all the arts without a rival. He towers alone among the infelicities of inferior baroque painters and the reactionary policies of successive popes. Disillusioned by bitter disappointments, his health undermined by excessive labours, he yet lived for ninety years. On the death of Antonio da San Gallo in 1546 Pope Paul III created him Architect-in-chief of St. Peter's, and his construction of its dome<sup>1</sup> at over seventy years of age shows him one of the greatest architectural designers in the world.

Outside of his profession Michelangelo had few interests. His reserved and concentrated character, the extreme labour demanded by his projects, and his isolated habit of life left little room for the more general interests which engaged contemporaries, as Leonardo and Botticelli. We recall his words of somewhat grim humour, "In my art I have only too much of a wife, and she has given me trouble enough; as to my children, they are the works that I shall leave." Of artistic friendships we hear little. He must have had an acquaintance with Leonardo, though hardly a sympathetic one, and must have learned from him. He knew Raphael working in the Vatican from 1508 to 1514, but at a distance. Sebastiano del Piombo, arriving in Rome from Venice while the Sistine ceiling was in progress, felt his influence and became a friend. But for the most part his followers, as Vasari, were inferior imitators. Yet he was a devoted son and brother, and was capable of intense affection, and

<sup>1</sup> Now only to be properly seen from the Vatican gardens. His design for the nave was entirely altered.

though physically timid and of a nervous and melancholy temperament, he was consistently noble, disinterested, and courageous. His strongest personal attachment appears in his devotion to Vittoria Colonna, the daughter of Prince Colonna, which dated from his sixtieth year. This passionate friendship (from 1536 to her death in 1547) was the softening and cheering influence of his later life, and he found himself at home in the circle she gathered about her, which was touched by the profound religious revival lingering half a century after Savonarola. To these years belong his poems,<sup>1</sup> breathing strong emotions and profound religious feeling.

Of his last works we need say little. There is a general agreement that ill-health, an isolation of mind, his disappointments, and an almost inevitable embitterment of temper show themselves here. The *Crucifixion of S. Peter* and the *Conversion of S. Paul* (Vatican) are a reiteration of outworn motives without a hint of the master's power. They may well be forgotten. But in the *Deposition of the Florence Duomo*, his last sculptured work, we find the old fire still warm, and in the deep expression of overwhelming sorrow, it is to be compared to the early *Pietà* of S. Peter's.

When he died in Rome (February 17, 1564) the whole city was stirred, and his followers carried his body secretly by night, lest they be prevented, to Florence, where, after extraordinary popular manifestations of regard, he was buried with pomp in S. Croce, the home of the illustrious Florentine dead.

To explain Michelangelo's art we must know the man. Our problem is to gain some conception of a majestic personality. His technique, though not gracious, is inevitable as nature itself. The thought and emotion, as with few artists, transcends the material used. Sculpture and painting are indifferent means to one end.<sup>2</sup> To the significance he found in the human body and to the greater intensity of his interpretation the master owes his supreme rank as an artist. His vision was of a gigantic substratum for existence. There is in him something of the apocalyptic

<sup>1</sup> See Symonds for translations.

<sup>2</sup> Rodin notices (Lawton's *Life, etc., of Rodin*, N. Y., 1907, 41-2, 166), that Michelangelo tends to compose his single figures in sculpture with two dominant planes, thus approaching the graphic mode in two dimensions. For a discussion of the psychological and historical basis for this graphic mode in sculpture, see Loevy, *The Rendering of Nature in Greek Art*.

temper. Beautiful though his figures are, his art is in its essence rather a prophetic forecast of human potentials than a perfect imagery of the tangible. The fire of the soul, as revealed to the passionate student, must have emphatic presentation. Though on the whole wonderfully sane, there is in him a "furia," a haste to go on to something new which contrasts with Greek serenity, and has been explained as partly due to the vexations of patronage and to his invalidism. But this sense of the unrealised which gives to the master's work its vast suggestiveness, was also no doubt an essential trait. His nature sought passionately for some finite expression for a superhuman ideal.

Such art is not for every day nor for the average man. It is for exaltation on rare occasions, and it needs in the observer a strong sense of the mystery and limitless possibilities of life. Michelangelo's spirit is indeed greater than his material. It has been well compared to the very breath of the larger elemental forces of the earth.

**THE SCHOOL OF MICHELANGELO.**—Michelangelo scarcely founded a school. His followers are of small account. Some coming early in the century, as Bugiardini, have been already mentioned, some belong to the Late Renaissance, and are referred to there. MARCELLO VENUSTI was a copyist, as may be seen in an *Annunciation* by him in Rome painted after a design by Michelangelo. Other feeble imitators made popular a mannered and violent travesty of his style.

# RAPHAEL SANZIO<sup>1</sup>

1483-1520

## AND FOLLOWERS

RAPHAEL forms an entire contrast to his great rival both in life and character. Born in the little ducal town of Urbino, containing one of the most polished courts in Italy, his father, Giovanni Santi, court painter to the cultivated Montefeltri and a poet, Raphael from the start was bred to an artist life and to courtly ways. Educated in the school of the Marches, with its half Umbrian, half North Italian bent, at about seventeen (c. 1500)<sup>2</sup> he came already trained to Perugia and entered Perugino's bottega as an assistant.<sup>3</sup> After four years of intimate contact there with Perugino and Pintoricchio, assimilating what the Umbrian masters had to give, and even executing some independent work, he went at twenty-one to Florence, just as the great *David* (p. 236) was set up, and while the fame of the two cartoons was in every mouth, and he responded at once to the influence of Leonardo and Michelangelo and the whole Florentine movement. He felt the dignity of antique classic design, he copied Masaccio's work in the Brancacci Chapel, and for two

<sup>1</sup> Authorities: C. & C., Morelli, Passavant, Muntz, Rosenberg (notes by Gronau), Springer (good), Oppe, monograph (Methuen), Gronau, monograph on Raphael's early drawings. Cartwright (uncritical). For a fine æsthetic analysis, see Blashfield's *Ital. Cities*, also Kenyon Cox's important essay in *Old Masters and New*.

<sup>2</sup> The facts of Raphael's life at Urbino are largely conjectural. From 1500 the way is clearer, and the Roman period furnishes abundant documentary material, letters and other, for his history. Documents show that Raphael undertook with Evangelista di Piamdemeleto (his father's "famulus" or foreman from 1483) the execution of an altarpiece, the *Coronation of S. Nicholas of Tolentino* (now lost), for S. Nicolo, Città di Castello. Magherini Graziani publishes two docs. in *Boll. della R. Deputazione di Stor. patria per l'Umbria*, cit. by A. Vent., *L'Arte*, XIV, 139-46. *Drawings*, Lille Museum, for the picture remain, attrib. to Pintoricchio by Morelli; to Raphael by Loeser. They are certainly in Perugino's style, but we assign them to Raphael, and think they indicate the relationship between Perugino and Raphael at this date.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 157 and p. 248 f.

years was Fra Bartolommeo's housemate. After four years in Florence, well known and liked, he accepted at twenty-five a call to Rome, given by Julius II on the instance of Raphael's fellow-countryman, the architect, Bramante of Urbino. He was at once set to work on the decoration of the Vatican stanze, and from that time, for eight years of prodigious activity, until his death he remained in the service of Julius II and of his successor, Leo X, and was easily the leading artistic figure in Rome. Commissions of all sorts poured in—large decorations, portraits, altarpieces, architectural undertakings. He was surrounded by hosts of assistants and scholars, he was courted and loved. In a Court given to intrigue and vice he lived a generous and gentle soul, without an enemy and with few faults. He died, unmarried, in 1520 at Rome, where he was buried in the Pantheon.<sup>1</sup>

We must accept Raphael's phenomenal genius, and the priceless beauty of his work. Yet in no instance does one so need to know the whole man, and in no instance does one so need to select the work that is the man's true self.

Raphael's work naturally falls into four periods: I.—THE EARLY OR FORMATIVE PERIOD (up to 1504), where may be seen the gradual unfolding of an individual style under various influences—(1) at Urbino (1483–1500), where the influence of his father and Timoteo Viti may be distinguished, and probably the direct teaching of his father's "famulus"; (2) then at Perugia (about 1500–1504), where Perugino's influence is paramount with the addition of Pinturicchio's. II.—THE FLORENTINE PERIOD (1504–1508), during which Raphael, while working independently, broadens his art with the ideas of the Florentine Renaissance. III.—THE ROMAN OR CULMINATING PERIOD (1508–1520), to which his most monumental and elaborate works belong.

URBINO.—Raphael's earliest works show clearly his debt to Timoteo Viti, a competent artist of Urbino, who returned to his native place in 1495<sup>2</sup> from Bologna, where he was recognised as an artist of the Ferrara-Bologna school, and with whom

<sup>1</sup> D. April 6 or March 28, according to two conflicting sources, see Passavant, Eng. ed., 19. The stories of his dissipated habits have no corroboration. That he had a mistress is only to say that he was an Italian of the period, and from his point of view he did his duty when he left her provided for in his will.

<sup>2</sup> W. & W., II, 526. Opinions differ as to this connection. See Morelli, III, 210 ff. Cf. Timoteo's design of Saint with Banner in his *Madonna and SS.*, Milan, with Raphael's *Dream of a Knight*, London.

Raphael's friendship was subsequently continuous. Raphael's *Dream of a Knight* (London), executed in liquid tempera while still a boy at Urbino, is derivative of Timoteo Viti. This is certainly very early, as is proved by the drawing for it (London), with its immaturity, its painstaking, and timidity of technique, as in the lines of shading. Yet there is a spontaneity and freshness which belong to nothing by either Timoteo Viti or Perugino. Thus even in boyhood Raphael gives evidence of his sensitiveness to environment united to creative intelligence. Another work of Raphael, early by common consent, is the picture of the *Three Graces* at Chantilly. Here, in simply copying a motive from the Antique, Raphael contrives to suggest a fresh feeling and a personal sense for beauty. If we compare Perugino's *Apollo and Marsyas* in the Louvre, we feel a temperamental distinction. Perugino's work is masterly but studied, while Raphael's picture seems the result of direct inspiration—as if the interpretation came of itself. Assigned also to this very early period is the consummate little *S. Michael* of the Louvre,<sup>1</sup> which is remarkable for its vein of fanciful allegory. Upon a world where disorder and evil are symbolised by demonic monsters *S. Michael* alights, with wings spread and uplifted, to destroy the dragon. Everything is subordinated to the personification of grace and superb action in the Archangel, who is conceived from the standpoint of design, in a setting of lovely, unreal background. Some artists of a more mystical temperament would have made the dragon and other strange creatures morally interesting; with Raphael, they merely agreeably vary his pattern. If this be early, no clearer evidence of an exceptional genius for formal beauty could be adduced. The picture illustrates Raphael's composition of space to suggest limitless horizons, and the universe as the habitat of his figures. It might be Greek in its lucidity, and in its poise and balance of parts, and in its indifference to anything but beauty.

PERUGIA.—On Raphael's removal to Perugia his style quickly showed the new influences. His amenability to discipline must have made him the prize pupil of any master. Raphael's dependence upon Perugino is best seen in his earliest extant large painting, the *Coronation of the Virgin* (c. 1503, Vatican),<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> By Morelli, followed by Cartwright.

<sup>2</sup> For date, see Passavant, ed. 1872, I, 41-42, 56.

is close to Perugino in external features.<sup>1</sup> The design is evidently by Perugino. Raphael's own contribution is the magical touch on conventional forms. It is seen in the modification of details and in the beautiful drawings for the main composition and the predelle, which, as often with Raphael, are more significant than the finished work. On the conventional scheme of Umbrian heads and groups Raphael fashions something new. The *Drawing for the Adoration of the Magi* (Stockholm), retaining Perugino's technique, as the treatment of folds of draperies, enriches the scheme; the *Annunciation* (Louvre) to its balance and neat architectural setting adds a breadth and flexibility alien to the older master. The heads in Oxford, including that of a *Musician* drawn from the model, are of the highest beauty, and more real than most Umbrian drawing.<sup>2</sup> There is openness of spacing, subtle complication of forms, especially in the *Adoration* at Stockholm, and refinement of line, qualities which were soon to distinguish Raphael's art.

In 1502 Perugino left Perugia for Florence, and Raphael began to receive independent commissions. He almost immediately executed a *Crucifixion*<sup>3</sup> in Città di Castello, a lovely work, which in design and landscape reflects Perugino's *Crucifixion* in Florence (S. M. Maddalena dei Pazzi). With the *Sposalizio* (signed 1504, Milan), painted at the end of Raphael's sojourn in Perugia, and two years after Perugino's removal to Florence, Raphael's independent career was splendidly inaugurated, and Perugino's influence begins to dissolve into a reminiscence. The pattern is, indeed, Umbrian and more or less artificial, but it is inspired by a fresh conception. It recalls the *Delivery of the Keys* by Perugino in the Sistine Chapel, but the elements of the composition are more organically related, the scheme is more expressive of the vision as a whole.<sup>4</sup> Yet there are signs of

<sup>1</sup> It has often been attrib. to Perugino, but Raphael's authorship is not now disputed.

<sup>2</sup> Raphael only once tried to draw carefully an actual model in detail in the study he presented to Dürer. The *Drawing for the Madonna* (Oxford) is in Pinturicchio's style. The predelle appear to be executed by an inferior colleague of the bottega. They are loosely and rather slightly painted. The execution of several works attributed to the young Raphael may belong to fellow-assistants in Perugino's bottega. The *S. Sebastian* (Martinengo Gallery, Brescia), for instance, is given by C. & C. to Perugino's school.

<sup>3</sup> Mond collection, London. See Morelli's conjectural dates, v. III.

<sup>4</sup> We entirely agree with Berenson, *Study and Criticism*, II, 1 ff., that the *Sposalizio* at Caen is a work by some pupil of Perugino inspired by Raphael's picture, and later than it.



youth. Raphael's execution, while sensitive, is still timid, and elaborate in finish. There is not yet complete mastery of his craft. The little *S. George and the Dragon* (Louvre),<sup>1</sup> painted in 1503 or 1504 on a visit to the Court of Urbino, shows Raphael's command of his medium as equal to the original spirit of the design. Yet it is in a pre-Peruginesque vein. It is as if the feelings of his boyhood had surged back upon the youth on a visit to his city. The theme has no inner significance for him. The *S. George* is a handsome youth, the lady a mere episode. The action is graceful, but the knight will not kill,<sup>2</sup> nor the dragon bite; the landscape is a dreamy bit of impressionism. Yet no more subtle decorative pattern can be conceived, and the drawings are even more lovely. The secret of this charm is the magic of personal sensitiveness and of consummate unity of design. It is concerned not with external realities, but with the inner harmonies of Raphael's mind.

FLORENCE.—From 1504 Raphael spent four busy years in Florence, and, while retaining reminiscences of his preceding experience, he rapidly assimilated other ways. The forms of Pintoricchio and Perugino are there, but presently a new style emerges. Raphael is inexplicable without his eager studies of everything Florentine. In composition no Florentine could teach Raphael. But he copied for suggestion Michelangelo's *David*, and motives from Leonardo's drawings—the action of horses and human figures and the grouping of Madonna and Child.<sup>3</sup> His style in Florence until about 1507 is without spot. Of the period is the *S. Catherine of Alexandria* (National Gallery), where Perugino's Umbrian sentiment is still in Raphael's thought, but is coloured by a distinctive personal feeling under Florentine ideals of form. The figure, except the lovely head, is perfunctory. But the landscape, though hardly more than a decorative background, is very beautiful; and the *Drawing* for this composition

<sup>1</sup> A replica (S. Petersburg), with variations, is characteristic of the late Florentine period in its attention to foreground detail and in the type of the lady. The design is derivative of the relief at the base of the *S. George* (Or San Michele, Florence) by Donatello. It was probably painted in 1506, on another visit to Urbino from Florence, for Duke Guidobaldo, as a present for Henry VII of England. It is of less importance and much less beautiful. Drawings for both pictures are in the Uffizi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the drawing (Oxford) of the horse in the Heliodorus fresco for Raphael's advance in power.

<sup>3</sup> The cartoons by Michelangelo and Leonardo were exhibited in 1505.

(Louvre) is a masterpiece of vibrant feeling. The portraits of Angelo and Maddalena Doni (that same Doni for whom Michelangelo executed his Madonna painting) are of high importance. Nowhere else outside of his earliest work does Raphael exhibit greater enthusiasm for the actual execution. The *Maddalena Doni*, a travesty when compared with *La Gioconda*, which inspired it, is nevertheless remarkable for its union of breadth with finish and for its objective portrait quality. The landscape is also of great beauty, though, like all Raphael's landscape, it lacks Leonardo's imaginative reality. The portrait of Angelo Doni suggests less clearly Ghirlandaio's influence.

The most perfect example of a religious subject in Raphael's Florentine period is perhaps the *Belle Jardinière* (Louvre), one of several similar compositions, where the motive is essentially human. The Mother and Child are in affectionate converse, while the religious significance is suggested by the reverent posture of the S. John, and by the scale of the chief figure, which expresses a dignity beyond that of any common motherhood. The design is subtly ordered. The group is full of grace and beauty. The idyllic landscape, of fine breadth and atmospheric quality with lovely details, is exceptionally sympathetic and well articulated with the figures. Leonardo's influence may be here, and Fra Bartolommeo's, though the landscape is more strictly subordinated than with them. But of all Raphael's Madonnas of any period the *Madonna del Gran Duca* (Pitti) is perhaps the purest and most refined. The Virgin with the Child is posed in part length against a flat background, without ornament of any kind. The appeal is by simple line and form—the Florentine gift—combined with an innocence and purity of expression which places it in a class apart. In the *Gran Duca* Raphael approaches nature most closely and is quite modern. But this simplicity was unsuited to the requirements of the enlarged altars of Renaissance churches, and in the probably rather later *Ansidei Madonna* (1506 or 1507, London) the artist essays a monumental group on freer lines and a larger scale. It is a vigorous, coldly executed work showing Florentine science and Umbrian mannerism.

Even more magical than the paintings is the effect of several of Raphael's drawings of this period, as the study in the Uffizi for the Esterhazy Madonna at Buda-Pesth, or the small pen sketch for a Madonna at Oxford, which is more like a thought than a

graphic image. We feel it as strangely definite, while the means are utterly beyond any possible description. It is spontaneous, inspired, and yet has infinite tact and ordered feeling. In such drawings Raphael is at his sweetest.

His more academic works are valuable mainly as leading to the Roman mastery. Among these is the *Entombment* (Borghese, 1507), painted for the Church of S. Francesco, Perugia, which is transitional between the master's Florentine and Roman styles. The technique and drawing are admirable, but Raphael's genius was not adapted to dramatic themes; the picture is a failure. The treatment, which shows Fra Bartolommeo's influence, is over-studied and theatrical. He has vainly taken hints from Perugino's *Pietà* (Pitti), from Mantegna's *Engraving of the Crucifixion*, in the three distant crosses, and from Michelangelo's *Doni Madonna*, in one figure—features which he has ill assimilated. The fundamental difficulty was no doubt the want of a true sympathy with the deeper emotional meaning of his subject. His drawing for the composition (Cassel) better interprets its spirit, but even this is an indifferent specimen for Raphael, though no drawing of his is poor. Fra Bartolommeo's influence is now seen in various compositions, most notably in the *Fresco* in the Church of S. Severo, Perugia, which Raphael executed in 1505, and which he left unfinished.<sup>1</sup> It was his first independent fresco, and the composition is closely modelled upon Fra Bartolommeo's *Last Judgment* (Uffizi), and formed the basis years later for Raphael's first great work in Rome, the *Disputà*. Finally he left unfinished in Florence when he went to Rome the *Madonna of the Baldacchino*, an imposing and rather showy monumental altarpiece, which closely resembles a *Madonna and SS.* by Fra Bartolommeo.

ROME.—Wider opportunities came with the call to Rome by Julius II, in 1508. The air was full of great artistic undertakings. Michelangelo was busy in the Sistine Chapel, S. Peter's was rebuilding, keen appreciation and criticism was the order in the Papal circle, and Raphael responded to his environment, at first studiously and with caution, then with the freedom of assured success. His first commission was the decoration of the Stanze or private apartments of the Vatican. The Stanze<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perugino finished the picture after Raphael's death, adding the row of saints below.

<sup>2</sup> Finished by Albertinelli.

are a succession of four rooms near Julius' own, looking out upon inner courts of the Vatican, which had been built by Nicholas V, and left unfinished. In 1507-1508 various artists were employed there on the ceilings—Perugino, Peruzzi, Sodoma, Bramantino, and, earlier, Piero della Francesca. These works were ruthlessly sacrificed, Raphael with difficulty saving a few panels.<sup>1</sup> Julius' scheme was to unite Theology, Philosophy, History, and Humanism in a vast programme of mural decoration—an undertaking which required many assistants. But the first room, the *Stanza della Segnatura* (where the Papal seals were affixed), is entirely Raphael's, and marks the highest point of his inventive powers in design.

There are three chief phases in Raphael's Roman art: 1. The inventive and most inspired phase, seen in the *Stanza della Segnatura* (1509-1511); 2. One of growth in technical force, with greater realism, as shown in the frescoes of the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* (1511-1514), and in part in the *Stanza del Incendio* (1517); 3. A late, more academic and exaggerated style, represented in the altarpieces of *S. Cecilia* (Bologna), and the famous *Transfiguration* (Vatican).

In the STANZA DELLA SEGNATURA the instinct of Raphael's boyhood expands to its full measure. Here were symbolised the religious and intellectual life, law, and the arts. Passing by the rectangles and medallions of the ceiling,<sup>2</sup> with which he began his work, we will consider his first wall-painting, *The Disputa*—The Discussion as to the Nature of the Sacrament. This, with its concentric zones suggestive of early Christian apsidal mosaic, and with contrasting celestial and earthly groups, centering in the Mystery of the Altar, appeals by its intelligible symmetry and rhythm in complicated interrelations like an immemorial order. It is the earlier scheme of the San Severo fresco enlarged to its utmost expression. Important details may be feeble (the Christ upon the clouds is an empty Perugino type), but this is quite aside from the effect of solemn ceremonial expectancy which opens up a new world of imaginative design. Here Raphael is studiously feeling his way; in his second great fresco, *The School of Athens*, he is more at ease, and the resource of his design still more appears. The articulation of groups, though recalling something of Perugino's artificiality, is especially interesting in

<sup>1</sup> By Sodoma, Peruzzi, and Perugino. The works of P. d. Francesca were destroyed.

detail. In all the frescoes the subjects appeal less than single figures and groups—the youths in the *School of Athens*, the poets on Parnassus, the portraiture, the lovely poses, the quiet swing of masses, the pattern and line all reveal research into the elements of beauty. In this phase of Raphael's art, the note of personal research fascinates us more than the result. In the *School of Athens* he introduces portraits of contemporaries, a habit continued in matchless portrait groups throughout the series. By the time he had reached the *Parnassus* (finished end of 1511), the last picture in the room, there are signs of haste, and with the decoration of the two remaining stanze the master becomes less eager and inventive, less interested.

In the STANZA D'ELIODORO, the second treated (representing the triumphs of the Church), portions of every fresco are by pupils, and the *S. Peter Delivered from Prison*, though designed by Raphael, is entirely painted by his chief assistant, Giulio Romano. But the master's hand, when found, has gathered seriousness and power. In the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple*, the fresco first executed in the room, the figures on the left, including Julius II and Raphael's partner, the engraver Marc Antonio Raimondi,<sup>1</sup> form one of the finest portrait groups in the world. The rest of the picture he left to assistants, and proceeded with the *Mass of Bolsena*, which is all his, except a minor group at the left. The subject is a miracle in proof of the Real Presence, and the scheme of straight lines and curves is a development upon *The Disputa*, while its religious sense is more real. The chiaroscuro here and in the *S. Peter Delivered* is attributed to the Venetian Sebastiano del Piombo. In this picture Julius II is portrayed kneeling at the altar; in the next, *The Repulse of Attila*, Leo X takes his place. Between the two paintings Julius had died (Jan. 1513) and Leo had succeeded. On the whole, in this Stanza a deeper note is struck than in the frescoes of the Segnatura. The glorious group of portraits including Leo in the *Attila* fresco is superlatively fine, and illustrative of the master's genius for portraiture; with its background it is one of the supreme perfections in Raphael. The grandeur and freedom of the *Heliodorus* composition,<sup>2</sup> the splendid characterisation in

<sup>1</sup> Raphael made designs for Marc Antonio to engrave.

<sup>2</sup> See the noble drawing (Louvre) for one of its female figures, and the drawing (Oxford) for the horse in *Attila*.

the *Mass of Bolsena*, mark his mature capacity. Yet the *Segnatura* in its decorative completeness better satisfies artistic demands than does the *Stanza Heliodorus*. From this time on little of Raphael's execution appears in the *Stanza*. Julius' last illness and death had made an interruption. Raphael had many other calls, and was plunged into a life of almost feverish activity. His appointment by Leo X as architect of S. Peter's (1514), and as Superintendent of the Excavations of Ancient Monuments (1515), and the many private orders that poured in still further absorbed him.

The third room—the *STANZA DEL INCENDIO*—bears no evidence of Raphael's hand, but the design, and even much of the drawing, are directed by his mind. The *Incendio del Borgo*, which gives the name to the *Stanza*, is the only fresco there which we need consider. It represents Pope Leo IV staying by his prayers the progress of a devouring fire. In the background appears the façade of the old S. Peter's, which was still standing on Raphael's coming to Rome. The picture is little more than an enjoyable tissue without thought. It shows the influence of Michelangelo in its grandiose figures and architecture, and it marks a slight decline towards a rhetorical style, which is later carried to a turbid extravagance by Raphael's pupils, as is seen in the frescoes perpetrated by Giulio Romano in the fourth *Stanza*—the *Sala di Constantius*—designed after Raphael's death.

Other works of these years should have mention: The *FARNESINA*, a villa of the Sienese banker, Chigi, was built and decorated by Raphael in the most joyous spirit of the Renaissance. The *Psyche myth*<sup>1</sup> (1517) is given a fresh and charming interpretation in successive compositions of a cool and balmy paradise. They are not Mantegna's nor Correggio's nor Greek, nor even Pompeian. They make us think of all these, yet they remain Raphael's. If he had little to do with the actual painting, he must have made the design and controlled the spirit of the execution. The *Sibyls*, painted also for Chigi over the entrance of a chapel in the Church of S.M. della Pace, are dignified and classic figures, decorative and of rich colour, not unworthy beside the frescoes of the *Stanze*, and especially noticeable as inspired by the *Sistine ceiling*. The last important decorative commission (1517-1519) was the building of the *LOGGIA* opening beyond the Vatican

<sup>1</sup> Badly repainted.

Stanza and its decoration with Old Testament stories. The ensemble, including the ornamental designs on Græco-Roman motives, has been copied *ad nauseam* ever since. It has brightness and charm; but the little pictures of the ceiling, though often delightful as illustrations, are in general hasty and poor, and in some cases are positively bad, as the *Expulsion*, a travesty, though based, like Michelangelo's, on Masaccio; and in general they are not redeemed by their skill and neat naturalistic details.

Raphael's architecture is subordinate, but his architectural sense is shown in all his frescoes; and as a portraitist he is consummate in thought and feeling and style. The *Julius II*<sup>1</sup> is monumental and deeply interpretative, and every authentic portrait is a masterpiece. The *Baldassare Castiglione* (Louvre) has an exceptional and Venetian-like colouring, due to the influence of Sebastiano del Piombo.<sup>2</sup> His women are less remarkable; one female head, the *Donna Velata* (Pitti),<sup>3</sup> probably the model for the *Sistine Madonna*, in spite of felicity and ease, is mannered and lacks a certain refinement. Did Raphael ever know a woman as Leonardo knew her?

The portraits seem entirely by his hand. For his Madonnas and other works he had assistance. The *Sistine Madonna* (Dresden, probably after 1513), however, seems entirely his, and marks a high-water mark for his mature powers in the perfect technique, the Virgin's regal beauty, the life in the Child, the gentle naturalness of the cherubs. Yet it forces devotional feeling, and is an embodiment of popular votive sentiment rather than of personal faith. To the finest critical sense the art is less rare than in the *Gran Duca Madonna* or in the *Mass of Bolsena*.

His late work evinces an over-taxed phase. His last painting—the famous *Transfiguration* (1519, Vatican),<sup>4</sup> is magnificently built up, but vehement and forced, with little of the master's characterisation. Among these more academic works should be classed the *Cartoons* for the Sistine Chapel tapestries (S. Ken-

<sup>1</sup> The *Julius II* in the Uffizi is a replica.

<sup>2</sup> Del Piombo's fancy portraits have been confused with Raphael's. The *S. John in the Desert*, Louvre, now generally given to del Piombo, is wrongly claimed for Raphael by Frizzoni, as the landscape proves.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly passed as school work. Reclaimed for Raphael by Morelli and others. The *Portrait of a Lady*, Uffizi, once ascribed to Raphael, is Perugino's (B. B.). Raphael never painted so intimate a characterisation of a lady.

<sup>4</sup> The upper part is Raphael's, the lower part was painted by Giulio Romano, after Raphael's death.

Fig. 86.



MASS OF BOLSENA.  
Page 254 f.

RAPHAEL.

Vatican Stanza, Rome.

Fig. 87.



RAPHAEL.

LEO X AND CARDINALS GIULIANO  
DE' MEDICI AND LUIGI DE' ROSSI.

Pitti.



Fig. 83.



STANZA DELLA SIGNATURA.  
Fresco 253 f.

PARNASSUS, RAPHAEL.

Anderson.

School of Athens, Vatican, Rome.

sington),<sup>1</sup> executed by pupils from Raphael's designs, with their classical and Michelangelesque motives and vigorous effects. There is not space to consider the late pictures left to pupils for execution. They appeal little except in design: as the *Madonna of the Fish* (Madrid), the *Triumph of Galatea* (Farnesina), and the little *Vision of Ezekiel*, of the Pitti, which plainly reflects the presence of Michelangelo.

Raphael, like Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Titian, is one of the elect of culture. He was a gentleman responsive to the life of the best society, with art as an inherited and natural idiom. No story of style is more fascinating. His receptivity amounts to genius. In smaller men it would be eclectic. The art is cumulative. His qualities unfold in orderly development from the experiences of life. Remove any one of its factors, and the result would be different. Before all things he was a student, receptive and painstaking, with a receptivity no mere imitator could achieve. It is a fascinating study of the growth of an inspired style from boyish timidity to the grandeur of the Roman works. He was always learning from the best at hand, assimilating it and bringing forth a greater perfection. His individuality lies largely in this power to perfect. He developed Umbrian sweetness into something lovelier than Perugino's; he assimilated Florentine science and composition into something more suave and living than Fra Bartolommeo's; he chastened Roman love of monumental pomp—it was only the genius of Leonardo and Michelangelo that he could not better. His rapid development and quick reaction to influence contrast with Leonardo's excessive revolving of a problem. Leonardo is the inspired amateur infinitely curious about things; he held, as it were, a sort of "Chair of Research," with an essential originality which contrasts with Raphael's practical adaptability. Raphael's part is to make beauty understandable to all. He teaches Europe a kind of synthesis of styles which everyone can understand. He is the central stylist of Italy, as Leonardo is the central initiator, and Buonarroti—the narrowest but the strongest of the three—the epic poet. He ministers to votive emotion by his inevitable sense of propriety. In Rome he is as pagan as his patrons. Once or twice, in Florence, he is religious.

Whatever we may think of the content of Raphael's art, its

<sup>1</sup> Designed for the space below the wall frescoes.

form is matchless in its kind. He is not, indeed, a first-rate draughtsman in the narrower sense, nor a first-rate painter like Titian or Correggio. Colour had little to do with his harmonics, and he was rather indifferent to landscape. But he was a supreme constructor of pictures; and there is something sublime in the drawings for the Vatican *Frescoes*, their vast intuitions—a horse that recalls the horses of Helios from the Parthenon, and the female figures in the Louvre. One gains a constant pleasure from the mere pattern of the *S. Cecilia* or the *Belle Jardinière* or in his portraits. The charm is that of fine but unimpassioned style, and is peculiarly pervasive; it gives one the feeling of well-being, of cheerful company, of a wholesome attitude toward life.

Raphael has no mystery. He is a child of joy with a cool intellect and glorious energy, and certain passages in his works win us above earth to a region of pure felicities. The want of passionate conviction, a lack of imaginative grasp upon the deepest human experience, in part explained by his environment, his flexibility of character, and easy success, makes Raphael a less profound artist than some less gifted men. But who would have him different? In the sum total of his qualities—in synthetic power, in an infinite adaptability, in his equipoise and clarity, in his taste, in his eager search for an absolute image, he is of the greatest.

THE SCHOOL OF RAPHAEL.<sup>1</sup>—Raphael's reliance upon assistants, due to the immense pressure of work, and the lack of any high talent among his pupils have somewhat dimmed his glory. The school of Raphael is a discouraging affair. GIULIO ROMANO (1492–1546), Raphael's chief assistant and the most noted, was commissioned to continue Raphael's unfinished works, and painted great expanses of wall at Mantua and elsewhere. He caught some of his master's skill in portraiture, as in his cold *Giovanna of Aragon* (Louvre), which has character and a sense for style. Other pupils are the genial PENNI and PERINO DEL VAGA, together with various craftsmen of less talent who really belong to the baroque period. His influence upon contemporary and subsequent Italian painting, apart from his immediate school, is evident in the late Siennese and Ferrara-Bolognese schools.

<sup>1</sup> See Dollmayr, *Raffaels Werkstatt*, an elaborate study in the *Aus. Jahrb.*, XVI.

In Beccafumi, Brescianino, and others is dimly seen Raphael's melting atmosphere, though this does not imply direct artistic inheritance. His remoter influence upon Europe has rather been through the direct inspiration of his own work than through his followers. The 19th-century schools of France and Germany studied him, and he has been better understood in our own time, as by the French painters Puvis des Chavannes and Baudry, than by his immediate pupils.



**PART V**

**HIGH RENAISSANCE VENICE**

**PALMA VECCHIO THROUGH GIORGIONE,  
TITIAN, VERONESE AND FOLLOWERS**



## JACOPO PALMA VECCHIO

1480<sup>1</sup>—1528

ALTHOUGH Florence was earliest in the field, Venice was not far behind, and we turn to Giorgione and Titian, the leading masters of the Venetian High Renaissance. Bellini's art is so satisfying that it is not, indeed, strange that the further developments at first made way but slowly, and when accepted ran for some years parallel to the other. We hear of bitter rivalry between these younger artists and the thoroughly established bottega of Giovanni Bellini, which had first trained them. It was not until 1520, some years after Bellini's death, that the new mode displaced the earlier one. Before Giorgione and Titian we must discuss Palma, a man of sufficient native power to demand consideration on his own account, and important as a factor in the education of Titian. His earliest style is unlike that of the Bellinis.<sup>2</sup> It is realistic with native invention and loose execution. But some typical later works in oblong half-figure groups—the Sacred Conversazione and Holy Families—are Bellinesque, though they are both freer and heavier than Bellini. Giorgione's influence may often be felt. But compared with Giorgione, Palma is far more material, and his massive landscape backgrounds, though effective, seem opaque after Bellini's. He is facile and original in early work, but never gets much further; he repeats himself, and lacks the fresh attack of great art. Of coarser fibre than the true Venetians (a mountaineer, Morelli calls him), he has native robustness and pagan sumptuousness. His nude figures are physically large and healthy; his women are comely, without much refinement; his saints and virgins are splendid human creatures, placid and physical. He is at his best in portraiture, where he rises with his subjects; though external, they are

<sup>1</sup> For date, see *Mor.*, II, 29, with notes. C. & C. authoritative.

<sup>2</sup> Some early works are Bergamesque in style. His exact artistic origin is unknown. C. & C., *N. It.*, III, remark the clear relation to Cima. Bode (*Cic.*) sees Previtali's influence. See Claude Phillips, *Burl. Mag.*, X, 243 ff.



worthy as painting, and his fancy portraiture inspired Titian. With all that is lacking Palma ranks as an original master, though not of the first rank,<sup>1</sup> with a large conception of nature and a rich humanity.

## GIORGIONE<sup>2</sup>

1478-1510

Giorgione was probably born in 1478 in or near Castelfranco, a pleasant town of the Venetian mainland, presided over by a castello, and not far from the little hill-town of Asolo, where Caterina Cornaro, after her withdrawal from Cyprus, held her petty Court. Aristocratic families, influential in the region, were the centre of the social life of Castelfranco. The boy, sensitive and gifted, shared more or less in the fêtes and varied interests that make the life of small provincial towns in Italy so delightful and so full of colour.

Venice, but a day's journey away, naturally drew anyone with aptitude for the artist's craft, and while Giorgione is still hardly

<sup>1</sup> If the *Storm Calmed by S. Mark* (Venice) be largely Palma's, as is probable, he had a high dramatic imagination. B. B.'s view is that Giorgione designed it, and painted a part, but no one has followed him in this view. For a more favourable estimate of Palma, see C. Phillips' acute criticism, *Burl. Mag.*, X, 243 ff. He makes him pagan, often undisciplined, but genuinely artistic.

<sup>2</sup> For complete studies of Giorgione, see Justi; and L. Venturi, *Giorgione, etc.*, important. For data, not for attributions, consult Cook in addition to Milanesi. The name Giorgione signifies "Big George." The family seems to have been a respectable one. The story of Giorgione's illegitimate connection with the Barbarelli family is not accepted by Gronau in *Zornon da Castelfranco*, and we accept his conclusions (see Cook, 1-2). For influences upon Giorgione see Ludwig-Molmenti, *Vittore Carpaccio*; W. Rankin, *Burl. Mag.*, XV, 198; cf. *Ador. of the Magi*, by Gentile Bellini, Layard collection, with the Uffizi panels by Giorgione for openness of spacing, horizontal arrangement of figures, general freedom, descriptive and portrait motives, and technique. The influence of Mantegna is possible in tone, planes, foliage, and even colour. Cf. S. Liberale in *Castelfranco Madonna*, with Mantegna's Roman soldier and *S. Michael*. Although Giorgione may have met da Vinci when Leonardo was in Venice in 1500, and may have known of his work earlier through descriptions and sketches, Giorgione's art does not show his special influence. In support of this, see Mor., II, and Richter's notes to *Vasari* under Giorgione. For a contrary view, see Cook. Titian was influenced by Giorgione especially in early work, but sporadically throughout his life. Giorgionesque influence does not count vitally after about 1523 (*Entombment*, Louvre), but Gronau, *Titian*, 198 f., cites *Nymph and Shepherd*, Vienna, c. 1565, as Giorgionesque. Palma Vecchio was influenced by Giorgione and also Sebastiano del Piombo. See Sebastiano's *Glory of S. Chrysostom and Saints*, S. Bartolommeo in Rialto, Venice. Justi thinks these may be on Giorgione's designs.

a youth, we find him in Giov. Bellini's workshop in Venice, already become a friend of the young Titian, and of other pupils of the school. From this time on until his early death his uneventful life must be followed mainly in his works. We hear of his social charm, of his welcome to the aristocratic circles of that most splendid and luxurious of cities. We see and hear how he passed from being the fellow-pupil to becoming the virtual master of the young artists of Venice, and of his especial intimacy with Titian. We hear also of large frescoes executed, witnessing to the general and official recognition of his capacity, and from the few pictures still remaining—generally easel pictures and not large—we seem to judge of both the aristocratic quality of his patrons and of an aristocratic outlook in himself. There is a subtle analysis that belongs to a highly developed and intricate society.

He never, apparently, travelled far from Venice. He lived, happy and adored, and died in Venice, apparently unmarried, at the age of thirty-two.

An exhaustive and authoritative estimate of Giorgione's work is still wanting, due to the great diversity in critical attributions. Yet a sufficient number of works for adequate criticism are unquestionably his. Feeling tradition, he is yet original both in idea and form. His style is related to that of his master, Giovanni Bellini, but their art cannot be confused, and there is no evidence of Giorgione's hand in any work by Giovanni.<sup>1</sup> He sums up and expands Venetian ideals. His earlier composition is Venetian—his use of colour and masses, his light and shade and texture, his wholesome attitude, his largeness and simplicity.

He also inherits the classical spirit which we have found common to all Italians.<sup>2</sup> But his distinctive characteristic is a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Castelfranco Madonna* with Giovanni's *Altarpiece* from S. Giobbe, especially the composition and S. Francis; see Fry, *G. Bellini*, 35 f. Cf. the background of the *Tempest*, Giovanelli Palace, with the small pictures on the frame of Giov. Bellini's *Altarpiece*, Pesaro. Cf. the Uffizi panels with Giov. Bellini's *Allegory*, Uffizi.

<sup>2</sup> This classical influence, shown so definitely by Mantegna and Raphael, was in the air, though the exact sources for Giorgione may be hard to trace. The Greek horses of S. Mark's were there, and no doubt other antiques, at Padua certainly. The *Flûte Champêtre*, Paris, and the Dresden *Venus* are surely classical in inspiration, see Mor., II, 221 ff. By the discovery of the *Venus Morelli* conclusively proved his insight as an expert. Once pointed out, no one has dared question the attrib. to Giorgione. Cf. it with similar pictures, as Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, p. 274, to recognise its superiority in purity and feeling.

personal attitude toward the visible world peculiar to himself, which gives to his work an imaginative or "lyric" quality indescribable and eluding analysis. Giorgione has, indeed, distinct limitations. He is not in general dramatic. He is rather contemplative. He is never discursive, like Carpaccio. His art is unreligious (neo-pagan), although never profane. He does not impress us as an intellectual artist. His ideals are those of a rare and special beauty—the joy of refined living, the love of nature in its larger aspects. His is the selective temperament, Greek-like in sensitiveness. A fundamental characteristic is a balance of idealism and naturalism. For this combination in his design, notice his freedom of composition, although naturalistic features are subordinated to the decorative. In his later work the welding together of the formal and natural has become the art that conceals art.<sup>1</sup>

For illustration we turn first to the celebrated *Madonna of Castelfranco*, his native place, a picture of less assured mastery than some others, but yet a most alluring work. Notice, first, the combination of a formal composition (an unusual development of the older Bellini scheme) with naturalism in figures, landscape, and accessories. The Virgin is a girl of the Veneto. Throughout, the two tendencies are united, realism in parts, and idealism in the whole; the dignity of the place, the aloofness of the figures, the largeness of special imagination—it is idealisation of the highest sort. A little conscious care stamps the picture early; the folds of drapery are like the artist's later work, but more studied. But even at this stage there is the sense for rhythmic lines, for subdued tones, and depths of harmony; the picture at first seems dark, and then appears flooded with sunshine, which covers with a silent radiance landscape and sky.

From the *Castelfranco Madonna* we turn to one of the small early panels in the Uffizi. The real subject of the *Judgment of Solomon* is a group of aristocratic Venetians amusing themselves in the country. It is intimate contemporary description, but transcends pure genre by its high emotional tone, expressing a general mood of cultured people—their delight in the beauty of nature. It is significant of the undramatic character of the work that we cannot be sure which mother is which. Action and

<sup>1</sup> In the *Concert* of the Pitti, p. 268, there is the most delicate adjustment of spaces.

Fig. 89.



*Alinari.*

CASTELFRANCO MADONNA.  
Page 266.

GIORGIONE,

Duomo, Castelfranco.

Fig. 90.



GIORGIONE.

ORDEAL OF MOSES.  
Page 267.

*Jacquier.*

Uffizi.

Fig. 91.



GIORGIONE (?).

THE CONCERT.  
Page 268.

Pitti.

landscape bathed in soft light and air reinforce each other; the planes are marked by the traditional foliage and rising ground, but they are not emphasized as by the Early Florentines.<sup>1</sup> The composition is linear rather than in planes. The objects are disposed in a distinctly graphic pattern. Taking the figure on the extreme right, we follow gestures and contours into the open middle distance, and thence into every portion of the scene. In the *Ordeal of Moses* a similar linear motive intimately connects landscape and action. Such design is of the rarest beauty, and guarantees the authenticity of both pictures. The originality and assurance of form suggest that they can hardly be of Giorgione's earliest years.<sup>2</sup>

The *Fête Champêtre* (Louvre) illustrates the phase of Giorgione's mature painting most influential on later art—that of pure idyllic landscape.<sup>3</sup> The figures are one with the setting. Founded upon nature—the mainland of the Veneto—without direct imitation, the scene is composed with a sense for formal beauty comparable to Greek sculpture. Giorgione here creates an ideal world for his figures. He has dropped the descriptive character of the Uffizi panels and the individualised models of the *Castelfranco Madonna*. The figures are pure symbols of the physical enjoyment of nature. The picture is generally recognised as consummate in design, a work of the imagination, never to be exactly repeated even by the genius who imagined it.

Another phase is found in the *Evander, Pallas, and Æneas* (Vienna).<sup>4</sup> In the balance between figure and landscape and in the silhouette of the foliage there is much the same quality as in the *Judgment of Solomon*, and the relief-like grouping transcends the naturalistic. But the design, the scale of figures, the concentration are far grander. There is mystery in the solemn background, in the absolute quietude of the scene. And how life-like and robust are the figures, how suggestive is the contrast

<sup>1</sup> The tonal effect of Venetian painting, a modelling of atmosphere so to speak, seems particularly due to the influence of Ant. da Messina.

<sup>2</sup> Giov. Bellini's *Allegory*, Uffizi, is more naturalistic. Giorgione's design is more skillful.

<sup>3</sup> See a series by Titian, inspired by this.

<sup>4</sup> Much repainted. Probably late, because left unfinished. Completed by Sebastiano del Piombo (see *Anonimo of Morelli*, 102, whose statement on such a point could hardly be without foundation, and is accepted by most critics), but his contribution can have been but slight. The effect in pattern and even in colour is adequately preserved, and is far beyond del Piombo's powers.

of age and youth, how deeply the background penetrates into nature's secrets. The painter here comes close to the intellectual attitude of Leonardo or Mantegna.

One of the most debated pictures connected with Giorgione's name is the *Concert* of the Pitti. It has been given to Giorgione and also to Titian during his early Giorgionesque period. The question is a delicate one. No painting by Giorgione has precisely its quality, yet the picture is mature for Titian's early period, and no other painter comes near it in quality. It has been suggested that the work is in part by Giorgione, but finished after his death by Titian.<sup>1</sup> Whoever the artist, it places him in the front rank with Leonardo for intimate ideal portraiture. The picture gives a marvellous interpretation of the poetry in human character.

It remains to discuss Giorgione's influence upon others. This is seen sometimes in spirit, as in the young Titian's work and in the idealised portraits of Sebastiano del Piombo, and sometimes in superficial forms, as in the engravings of Campagnola,<sup>2</sup> or in the somewhat mundane religious fêtes of Bonifazio. The reputation of the artist encouraged imitation; two copies of works by Giorgione are mentioned by the Anonimo. Pictures painted, often by able artists, under Giorgione's influence, sometimes under his direction or upon his design, reproduce his external manner. The confusion increased with his fame after his death, and contemporary collectors attached his name to their pictures on small evidence.

We thus see Giorgione in various phases: his incidental and conventional motives under the lingering influence of the previous age, combined with his freedom and originality; his purely sensuous delight; his profound sympathy with nature and with human character. We see his personality pervading his generation, and finally transmitted to the whole Venetian school of the 16th century.<sup>3</sup> From this mass of Giorgionesque art his work

<sup>1</sup> By Gronau, *Titian*, 291. Bought as a Giorgione in 1654 by Cardinal Leopoldo de Medici from Paolo del Sera, a Florentine merchant living in Venice; described by Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, etc., I, 126 ff., and by Boschini, *Carta del Navegar Pitoresco*, 364; attrib. to Giorgione by C. & C. and Bode, to Titian first by Morelli, II, 212. The picture has been enlarged at the top by a strip of canvas. The joining can be seen in some lights.

<sup>2</sup> See Hind's *Short History of Engraving*.

<sup>3</sup> Pater's *Renaissance, Essay on the School of Giorgione*, gives a valuable impression of the far-reaching nature of this influence.

must be disengaged; this can generally be done. In his sensitiveness, his poetry, his largeness of spirit, he has no real rival.

## SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

c. 1485-1547

The most important follower of Giorgione was Sebastiano del Piombo, a distinctly independent genius. Thoroughly Venetian, distinctly sympathetic with Giorgione, he drifted to Rome about 1510, while M. Angelo was painting in the Sistine Chapel, and became one of the most loyal friends of the great painter throughout his life. Del Piombo's late work shows the mingling of these two influences, and yet he always retains his personal outlook, his passionate feeling, his realism modified by a dramatic intention. He misses the sheer concentration and direct vision of the highest genius, but he is one of the greatest of secondary minds.

The influence of Giorgione is clear in the *Santa Conversazione* (S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice), genial, real, yet beautiful as pure design. All of Piombo's early work is Giorgionesque. It is more reposeful and beautiful than afterwards. His later pictures, in comparison with early work, seem forced and rhetorical, as the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (London), but he always remains high-minded and really noble, and the extraordinary *Pietà* (Viterbo), and several glorious portraits,<sup>1</sup> as the *Doge Andrea Doria* (Rome) are concentrated examples of his genius.

TITIAN<sup>2</sup>

1477-1576

Turning from Giorgione to Titian we meet a contrasting nature and contrasting conditions. Giorgione's genius, compressed into a few years, makes an epoch; Titian's grows slowly into leadership throughout a century.

<sup>1</sup> Of heroic build and expression, due especially to Michelangelo; but Vasari's view that Michelangelo furnished him with designs seems like gossip. His colour and technique gave suggestions to Raphael; in composition he learned from Raphael; his *Fornarina*, 1512, Uffizi, was attributed to Raphael. Cf. Raphael's *Castiglione*, Louvre, with any portrait of del Piombo's earliest style, e.g. the *Fornarina*, Uffizi.

<sup>2</sup> See *Titian*, by Gronau; also Claude Phillips.



marvellous expression in the so-called *Young Englishman* of the Pitti (of his middle period, 1540-1545). In technique it is broad and sensitive. Its grey tone is penetrated by the subtlest variety of light and colour; and in characterisation it is a poem of sympathetic interpretation. It is significant that it may be, in fact, a young Italian! Not the racial species, but the personal character, is the theme.

The second type of portrait still finds him concerned with personal character, but with character emphasized by accessories of dress and surroundings—velvet and jewels, the glint of armour, the fondled dog or bird, the book in hand, anything that shows reactions on the person, as is seen in the portrait of *Alfonso d'Este*, whose velvet and wrought chain and sword hilt emphasize the haughty sternness of the Duke's face; or in the various portraits of *Paul III* in Papal dress, or in the *Pietro Aretino* (1545), whose robes and heavy chain are harmonious with his somewhat vulgar personal aggressiveness. Supreme of this kind are the companion portraits of *Francesco della Rovere*, the unconquerable and unfortunate Duke of Urbino, and his *Duchess Leonora Gonzaga*.<sup>1</sup> The ease of execution, the concentration of interest on the heads, the subordination of background and details, the play of light and colour on texture, place them beyond criticism. Allied with these are those portraits of women, splendid as painting, which in general he reduces to studies of outward feminine beauty—flesh as flesh, alluring like their jewels and raiment.<sup>2</sup>

The most wonderful portraits of all are those where the personal is merged in a larger sense; landscape, accessories, accompanying persons contribute to a pictorial idea which embraces but far exceeds the particular subject. Among such is that extraordinary group of the Farnese Pope, *Paul III and His Two Grandsons* (1545), one of the most dramatic portraits in the world, which gives intimate analysis of individual character and of an intense family situation—the aged Pope, crafty, suspicious, venomous, stubbornly tenacious of power; and the grandsons, wholly cold-hearted, already conspirators against him, fearing and cringing. No analysis, even by Leonardo, exceeds this in penetration. The *Charles V on Horseback* (Madrid) is easily the greatest European equestrian portrait in simplicity, dignity, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the earlier pair by Piero della Francesca, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> As the famous *Bella* of the Pitti, c. 1536.

Fig. 92.



DUKE OF URBINO,  
Page 272.

TITIAN.

Uffizi.

Fig. 93.



PAUL III AND GRANDSONS,  
Page 272.

TITIAN.

*Alinari.*

Naples.



richness of design, as in the rhythm between the massive foreground and the open distance.<sup>1</sup> The rider and horse caparisoned in armour, are relieved against a ground that stretches back to the light-streaked sky and massive foliage.<sup>2</sup> Note the breadth of execution, the beauty of sky and atmosphere. The effect is heroic, epic. It is leadership embodied. The companion portrait is also very great, *Charles V Seated in a Loggia* (Munich), observant, reticent, the student of affairs. Whatever the intention of the painter, it is the portrait of statesmanship as well as of a statesman. The *Little Daughter of Roberto Strozzi* (Berlin, 1542) should be mentioned, an idyll of childhood tended and loved in the shadow of its loggia among the woods and fields of a country estate.

In the so-called fancy portraits we are given concrete examples of pure beauty of colour and form; as, for example, the *Flora* of the Uffizi (1515-1516), an insipid type so sensitively rendered that it takes its place as a masterpiece, with its warm flesh, the gold in the hair, the contrasting textures in fabric, the easy rendering with broad strokes of a detailed effect; and the group represented by the *Lady at Her Toilet* (Louvre, 1510-1515), the *Vanitas* of Munich, and others, all physically and objectively beautiful.

Another group of subjects is formed by those scenes of physical abandon, all movement and colour and suggestive flesh against cool out-of-doors, sometimes enervating, even sensual, yet wonderful for colour and expression of the actual.<sup>3</sup> Titian had always been fond of the nude. He begins early with the naked babies in the *Three Ages of Life* and continues with the *Sacred Love* and with the whole Venus series—Venus bathing, Venus reclining, a riot of little loves in the worship of Venus, and similar pictures under other names—all designed, in part at least, to exhibit the thousand beauties in the female form. The *Worship of Venus* (Madrid) suggests the infinite variety of rose petals in combination with broader aspects of nature. These subjects

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mantegna's *Duke's Charger* at Mantua. Titian's is the source of all later works of its type. Cf. the Velasquez portrait of the *Duke of Olivares*, hanging near it in the Prado, which, great though it is, cannot touch it for poetry and serene beauty.

<sup>2</sup> The foliage is Giorgionesque in feeling.

<sup>3</sup> Two pictures of *Venus*, Uffizi; one in Madrid; *Toilet of Venus*, S. Petersburg; *Danaë*, Madrid, and two replicas, Vienna and S. Petersburg; *Jupiter and Antiope*, Louvre, etc.

were doubtless suggested by the taste of the ducal courts, but they were sympathetic to one side of Titian himself. There was coarseness, as in the *Venus of Urbino* (Uffizi), which closely follows the lines of Giorgione's *Venus* at Dresden, but which brings that creation of rare beauty down to a very fleshly conception, and in the frank grossness of the *Venus and Cupid* (Uffizi), painted some years later. Yet with all such detractions, these subjects with their setting often exhibit designs of extraordinary beauty.

We finally turn to the religious pictures. Some half his paintings bear religious titles, but religious pictures as such are never Titian's forte; only three or four may be classed among his really important works. There are various types: monumental altarpieces, Madonna pictures (Holy Conversaciones), which are really naturalistic idylls, dramatic compositions somewhat agitated and grandiose,<sup>1</sup> and at intervals throughout his life descriptive scenes—a *Baptism*,<sup>2</sup> an *Annunciation*, and religious pictures of a somewhat overwrought sentiment—the *Magdalen* (S. Petersburg), the *Crucifixion* at Ancona.<sup>3</sup> Of all these pictures the Holy Conversaciones alone compare in importance with his secular themes. In them he is at his finest. They grow with his growth, and show wonderful variety.<sup>4</sup>

We can roughly designate five periods in Titian's art.

I. His EARLY GROWTH (1476-1510) under the Bellini influence and while closely associated with Giorgione. II. His EARLY MATURITY (1510-1530), after his return from Padua, a period of magnificent power culminating in his work for the Duke of Ferrara, but a period in which he also shows an occasional grandiose quality.<sup>5</sup> III. The great CENTRAL PERIOD (1530-1545) of his full maturity, when he was constantly employed by the Courts of Urbino and Mantua and met the Emperor—this is the period of consummate technique, most striking portraits, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Assumption*, Venice, most famous example; *Resurrection*, Brescia; *Assumption*, Verona; *S. Peter Martyr*, S. Giov. e Paolo, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> *Baptism*, Rome, E., Palma's influence.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Christ and Simon of Cyrene*, Madrid; *Entombment*, Madrid, L., and its replicas, Vienna; London; *Mater Dolorosa*, Madrid; *Blessing Christ* (S. Petersburg).

<sup>4</sup> From the Bellinesque *Madonna with the Cherries*, Vienna, and the Palmesque *Madonna with S. Bridget*, Madrid, to the *Madonna with S. Catherine*, London, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See *Entombment*, Louvre, and *Pesaro Madonna*, Venice.

utmost range of subject and style, from the charming *Madonna with S. Catherine* (London) through the *Battle of Cadore* to the realistic *Presentation of the Virgin* (Venice Academy). It is during this period that the rich and simple colours and contrasts of the early years give way to harmonies in grey. IV. When he is seventy-four years old we are brought to his LATE PERIOD (1545–1560), the period of his universal fame, including the Roman sojourn and the visits to Germany, when his work is more powerful than ever, if sometimes less purely beautiful. V. Finally we come to his EXTREME OLD AGE (1560–1575), when he is still active, though less secure and inevitable.

FIRST PERIOD.—In the Formative Period there is a simplicity, a freshness, which has a charm distinguished from anything in his later work. His pictures show a quattrocento or a Giorgionesque connection; even the *Frescoes* in Padua (in the Scuola del Santo) which closed his earliest period, are important for their Giorgionesque feeling.<sup>1</sup> But these relations do not exhaust Titian even in this early work. There is a study of beauty in actual things and conditions which separates him from his masters, and which ultimately forms the keynote of his art. For illustration there is the *S. Mark Enthroned* (of the Salute, shortly after 1504). The formal arrangement derived from Bellini and common to Giorgione's Castelfranco *Altarpiece*, the rich colour based on Bellini and Giorgione, the quiet feeling, distinctly Giorgionesque, all indicate a formative period. Yet there is something new—a vigour, a certain realism, a freedom—which gives a premonition of the mature Titian.

In this time are some half-dozen Madonna groups, half-lengths in that horizontally oblong form introduced by Giovanni Bellini, all of which are beautiful. Of these is the *Madonna with S. Antony* (Uffizi), which is quite personal to Titian, although the Virgin's head is still like Giorgione. There is the delicacy of sentiment belonging to youth, together with mature mastery of technique. The heads of S. Antony and the little S. John are splendid studies in modelling, properly subordinated by their deep warm tone to the Mother and Child; the roses, white and purplish pink, melt into the warm flesh; the pure blue of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. one isolated figure and its oneness with the landscape with Giorgione's *Tempest*, Venice; see massed backgrounds, figures horizontally drawn out. Cf. *Trial of Moses*, Uffizi.

Madonna's garment and her transparent veil are set off by the dark olives of the curtain, and by the soft purple-black of S. Antony's robe, all harmonising with the light, hazy blue distance. It is fresh, enchanting.

SECOND PERIOD.—In the Second Period a new element, a superficial one, appears in the influence of Palma. The Giorgionesque feeling, though still often apparent, is less marked, and by the middle of the period (1520) it disappears. In general the early part of the period marks the development of personal qualities. The first allegorical scenes now appear, and fancy portraits, as the *Flora*, and their companion groups. His portraits begin to show accessories and closer study of character. Among the allegorical compositions is the *Sacred and Profane Love*,<sup>1</sup> coming soon after his return from Padua, which is his first entirely characteristic masterpiece. Here is opportunity for Titian's aptitudes, for the treatment of textures, the contrast of flesh, gorgeous raiment, and cool, carved stone, that design in sky and landscape shown often in later works; the pensive feeling. Still carrying in mind such idylls as Giorgione showed in the *Fête Champêtre*, such gorgeously attired and mature beauties as Palma depicted, he treats them with his generalised vision and with that vivid interest in their reality which makes it possible to compare him with Velasquez or Rubens.

Immediately after Titian's appointment as State painter (1516), his first example appears in the grandiose style, the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Venice, 1518).<sup>2</sup> It is violent, rhetorical, something of a failure. It becomes important because later he reverts to this manner at intervals, and because it is followed by late painters and has in it the seeds of decadence. Far nobler is the *Madonna of the Pesaro Family* (1526), a little studied in composition yet really superb, and in one head at least—that of the boy on the right—full of Titian's best realism. There are other works of the period full of reticence, mythologies, portraits—yet the trend of his style was toward the dramatic and grand.

CENTRAL PERIOD, 1530–1545.—Of the Central Period we have already mentioned the portraits of the *Duke and Duchess Urbino* and the *Young Englishman*. The *Madonna with*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the nude with one figure in the *Fête Champêtre*. Titian's is more delicately drawn, and retains the refinement which his later nudes generally lose.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps experimental, the outcome of his new work in the Ducal Palace?



MADONNA WITH S. ANTHONY.  
Page 275 f.

TITIAN.

Uffizi.



Fig. 97.



*Naya.*

MADONNA OF THE PESARO FAMILY.  
Page 276.

TITIAN.

Frari, Venice.

*S. Catherine* (London, c. 1530) is a superb example early in the period; it is a Holy Conversazione that is really a description of life and nature, without religious significance. Its form is important as a final development of Bellini's quattrocento scheme—that is, a horizontal, concentric pattern centring in a low pyramid. But the scheme has become free. Precise symmetry is dropped, as is seen in the exquisite curves in the figures, reinforced by the horizontals of the clouds, and in the masses at the left balanced by the distance at the right, and in the beauty of minor accents—as the note of illumination in a building in the background, an essential note in the harmony. Nothing is over-emphatic, nothing omitted, yet room is left for imagination; it is naturalistic, yet not one thing is a copy of nature. The execution is broad yet finished. It is perfection.

**LATE PERIOD.**—In the Late Period come most of his variations on the reclining Venus, the Danaë, and kindred themes, and various portraits of his daughter Lavinia (painted at intervals up to the Late Period), of the Pope, of the Emperor, and of Philip II. There are also compositions religious in name, which, as we have said, are seldom quite successful. But what distinguishes this from earlier periods is the final change to subtle and silvery colour, and a response to the demand of the age for emotional art. To this late period belongs at least one religious subject which is supremely fine as painting, the *Supper at Emmaus* (Louvre), not strictly religious, but yet not merely genre.<sup>1</sup> Commonplace material is used in a big way with ease and breadth. In another mood he creates, when nearly eighty-five, the *Jupiter and Antiope* of the Louvre, a masterpiece. It is a frank titanic image of physical existence, with Titian's pagan nonchalance. The vision of an earthly paradise has no other such illustration. It is material, but glorious.

**LATEST PERIOD.**—The few pictures of his Latest Period do not vary in scope from the preceding. But they perhaps tend more than ever toward the grandiose, and toward religious subjects. His intimate portrayal of character is seen for the last time in the *Portrait of Himself* in Madrid, painted but a few years before his death (1565-1570), which is a profound study.

<sup>1</sup> Prototype for modern realism in such themes as Rembrandt's *Supper at Emmaus*, and to be compared with Veronese's great masterpiece. The attribution is questioned.

His last work, the large *Pietà* of the Venice Academy, is grandiose. The Magdalen rushes out of the picture, and an odd prominence is given to the baroque background. In its present repainted state it is certainly unpleasant in colour. Yet the architectural feeling is large, and there is sincere devotional passion, unique in Titian. It is important as a prelude to future fine baroque art, and it is striking as the artist's last word on the verge of the grave.<sup>1</sup>

Titian is robust, has superb technique and thrilling colour. His landscapes show dramatic passion in mountain and forest, and a lyric mood in the melting vapours of low summer hills. He is great through his generalised vision, his fresh conception, his transfiguration of the material.<sup>2</sup>

## TINTORETTO AND VERONESE

TITIAN and Giorgione between them had metamorphosed Venetian painting. Henceforth it belonged to the modern world, and the new qualities were exhibited by their followers of the 16th century. Among these men, but far overshadowing the others, appear Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, who, whatever they owe to Titian and Giorgione, remain great independent masters. Compared with Titian at his greatest, these two younger contemporaries are personal and limited in vision. Both artists have had immense influence, but Tintoretto's genius was too fitful and narrow to establish a permanent canon, and Veronese lacks a certain intellectual quality. Both Tintoretto and Veronese are, as compared with the supreme minds, essentially naturalists in intention. They hardly enter into the world of high imagination. The lives of both were uneventful, and their early training obscure. Both painters received their chief discipline from the overwhelming force of Venetian example, especially that of Titian. Here the parallel ends. In temperament the two differed widely.

<sup>1</sup> Finished by Palma the younger, and later restored. See K. Cox, *Old Masters and New*, 51, for its condition and for adverse criticism.

<sup>2</sup> Titian's brother, FRANCESCO VECCELLIO, d. 1559, and his nephew, MARCO VECCELLIO, 1545-1611, were among his immediate followers. Neither was more than competent.

## I

TINTORETTO<sup>1</sup>

1518-1592

Of Jacopo di Battista Robusti, called Tintoretto (the "little dyer," from his father's trade as a dyer<sup>2</sup>), there are only a few certain facts and a few dated pictures. His paintings indicate a unique and somewhat disquieting personality, with a bias for flashing impressions. There is doubtless something in Vasari's unauthenticated story of his apprenticeship to Titian, his rebellious temper, his ambition and arrogance, his furious studies of movement with suspended manikins, and of chiaroscuro with artificial lights. Titian's bottega received most young Venetian artists of the period. Tintoretto's work indicates Titian's influence and Giorgione's. But to account for him some other influence is needed. Mr. Berenson gives him Bonifazio, Palma's pupil, as a possible teacher, and suggests a relation to Parmigianino, Correggio's follower. Certainly there is a general resemblance at times to the style of Bonifazio's backgrounds, but ultimately Tintoretto owes little to him.<sup>3</sup> We hear of his early search for employment; of his offer (which was accepted) to decorate the Scuola di S. Rocco for the cost of materials,<sup>4</sup> and of his finally receiving recognition and State commissions. Venice is filled with his enormous canvases, covering a great range of subject, in churches, scuole, and other public buildings, including the Ducal Palace. Numerous portraits and some smaller canvases are scattered in various European galleries. His valid reputation rests mainly upon these smaller pictures. His great compositions, though daring, and sometimes tremendous in conception, are uneven and often inferior.

His works may be classed in three periods: 1, the Early

<sup>1</sup> Tintoretto's numerous studies and drawings (characteristic examples in Brit. Mus., pub. by Sidney Colvin, *Burl. Mag.*, XVI, 189 ff., 254 ff.) are helpful in analysing his quality. They indicate his constant study of composition and his faculty for invention; see the striding allegorical figure of *War*.

<sup>2</sup> Vas., Blashfield ed., III, 382, n.

<sup>3</sup> For Tintoretto's dependence in composition upon Bonifazio (Veronese), see Ludwig in *Pr. Jahrb.*, XXIII, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Story in Ruskin.

(before c. 1548), which especially indicates the influence of Giorgione and Titian; 2, the Central (1548–1578); 3, and the Late Style (1578 to his death, 1592), a style which in the main is decadent or baroque.

**EARLY PERIOD.**—In the presumably early works<sup>1</sup> Giorgione's idealism, pervasive but difficult to analyse, inspired the young Tintoretto. Giorgione rather than Titian is seen in the generalising of landscape and atmosphere, in the idyllic sentiment and the sensitiveness to vegetation, in the passion for colour with tone. And these early works are beautiful and original. Tintoretto, however, has a more turbulent spirit than Giorgione, and his early compositions exhibit an especial delight in dramatic aspects. The *Adam and Eve* and *Cain and Abel* (Venice), of an early period, if not the earliest, are important in themselves and as indicating tradition. Their colour and landscape composition are clearly Giorgionesque. In *Adam and Eve* the heavy, rather vulgar figures are backed by foliage masses and luminous glimpses. The special beauty is in the foliage composition and the colour, with its gold-greens, and in an idyllic feeling which is derivative of Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre*, the figures being mere colour surfaces for the play of light. In no work is he more spontaneous and masterly. The beauty, as with Titian's later works, though narrower, is of forms as they appear in the mystery and thrill of light and of enveloping atmosphere, and in inexhaustible colour-relations suggested rather than defined. The *Cain and Abel* is less quiet and lovely, but a superbly mobile work, typical of Tintoretto's dramatic gifts, and foreshadows Delacroix and Daumier.<sup>2</sup> The figures are admirably expressive, and give surfaces for a warm light which is carried in broad effects. Big leaves without much care for specific character, but true to the spirit of growth and texture, are painted with a few definite and final strokes. In most of Tintoretto's landscape his illumination, framed by the coloured shadow, invites the fancy and suggests rare motives in nature. It is in this effect that the chief beauty resides. Tintoretto's design would be little without his backgrounds. Among other early examples are the *Worship of the Golden Calf* and the *Last Judgment* (S. M. dell' Orto, Venice) and *Susanna and*

<sup>1</sup> The chronology is obscure. Giorgione's tonality and his green enter into the colour of both Tintoretto and Veronese.

<sup>2</sup> French 19th c. artists.

*the Elders* (Vienna),<sup>1</sup> which are looser in pattern and less full in colour than works of riper experience. The first two are vast dramatic pictures powerful in conception and of cooler colour than usual. Also undoubtedly early is the *S. George and the Dragon*<sup>2</sup> (London), a radiant little picture which yields to no Venetian painting in magical objective colour, in imagination and originality of design.<sup>3</sup> The scene takes place in an open landscape along the seashore. The imperilled lady, a superbly dressed Venetian matron, rushes out of the picture, as it were, a movement reinforced by the agitated foliage and the assertive architecture, but balanced by the peace of gold-green foreground and concrete sky. A set of diagonals—the tree trunks, one wing of the dragon, the horses' legs—are relieved by opposing diagonal lines and figure-masses and other forms. The perpendicular coast-line and architectural uprights steady the composition, and there is a weird illumination in draperies and in the vicious motive of the dragon's wings. It is, in fact, a more complicated expression of the Giorgionesque scheme. In a few works only does Tintoretto achieve such perfection, but his sense for the story, his love of action, his sympathy with nature, and his exuberant fancy are often present. Striking motives constantly appear, as in the presumably early *Presentation of the Virgin* (S. M. dell' Orto, Venice),<sup>4</sup> with its little Virgin taken from Titian, which, while uneven in interest, contains original passages as in the emphasizing by isolation of the Virgin's diminutive figure, silhouetted against the sky in contrast with architectural splendour. Other felicities are the half-concealed pyramid in the background reinforcing the triangular lines of the composition, and the union of breadth and richness, and the curve in the stairs leading to the temple. Also of this period is one of Tintoretto's most successful devotional works, the *Calvary* of S. Cassiano, where his rhetorical tendency is subdued to a noble presentation, the contrast of simple masses, the pattern of spears against the sky, the solemnity of effect.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest, according to B. B., but from internal evidence not very early.

<sup>2</sup> A similar but independent rendering of this theme, evidently of the same period, is in S. Petersburg, ascribed to Tintoretto's school, very wonderful and perfect in execution and of equal importance with the London example. In our opinion it is by Tintoretto.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raphael's *Drawing* (Uffizi) for his S. Petersburg *S. George* (p. 250, n. 1). Raphael's ideal is of formal beauty = balance, abstract linear construction; Tintoretto's is a more direct inspiration from nature.

<sup>4</sup> Greatly damaged by restoration? Cf. Titian's *Presentation*, Venice.

light and shade, the glow of the lovely knees and rounded arms, and the transparent depth of shadow . . . the lithe suppleness . . . the adorable distinction of the delicately poised heads . . . these are Tintoretto, one of the first painters of all time when he took the time to be so." The figures are only incidents in an ensemble of light and colour.

LATE PERIOD.—His late style hardly needs illustration. The *Last Supper* (S. Giorgio Maggiore), with its exaggerated, powerful chiaroscuro, is an extreme type of the forced effects of the decadence. The vast *Paradise* (1590)<sup>1</sup> covering one end of the great Council Hall is a *tour de force*, having imagination, indeed, but from lack of restrained composition quite outstepping the bounds of pictorial possibility—a huge failure.

PORTRAITS.—Tintoretto's portraits show him in a different light. The faults of taste do not appear. His touch has Venetian discipline and splendour. Controlled partly by the great tradition of portraiture and partly by their simpler character, they are almost invariably beautiful. The breadth and colour and textures, the indescribable surface and handling—the skin being directly given in pigment, and seen through as it were—as in the *Jacopo Soranzo* (Venice, 1564) of his central period, and the *Luigi Cornaro* (Pitti), are in their kind unrivalled, and leave an unforgettable sensation of purple and golden-greys and wine-tones with a deeper gold beneath (the earlier examples, like his larger compositions, are of less richness and warmth). The execution in his maturity is of especial subtlety. The effect is of thin painting at times, showing the canvas; at times of a heavily loaded brush, yet with a fluid vehicle. Colour and illumination work together in flesh-tones without the detailed definition of surfaces of Velasquez or Hals. One thinks rather of Rembrandt. He even surpasses Titian in a certain intuitive gift. A group of these portraits together in the Venice Academy leaves one of the richest impressions in painting. But he lacks Titian's supreme sense for abstract form and his concreteness of vision and perfection of design, and though his characterisation, especially of old men, is just, he lacks Titian's universal psychology.

The *Portrait of Himself* in the Uffizi exhibits his intense type, sheer artist and little else. It is not the face of a thinker, much

<sup>1</sup> Removed to display Guariento's *Paradise*, and now (1913) replaced.

less of a man of the world ; but to make of Tintoretto a mere experimenter, eccentric and untrained, is totally to misconceive his genius. His faults are obvious. His art shows a magnificent but undisciplined virtuosity, too voluble and fluent and too inbred. His drawing and execution are often careless. Seldom do we feel long-pondered design. He is an inspired improviser working upon partly assimilated material. In landscape he is more impressionistic than Titian, and more original, but he is infinitely Titian's inferior in dignity and reticence, and he lacks the larger receptiveness of Veronese. In Titian there is that detachment which belongs to the greatest interpreters of beauty, in Tintoretto there is the splendour of an æsthetic passion, of an isolated, at times eccentric, temperament. He is the prodigious romanticist ; an inspired impulse rather than a steady light. In lyrical exaltation and personal sense of colour in his early works there can be no question that Tintoretto is Titian's superior ; and occasionally—in the moonlit mysteries of *S. Rocco*, in the solemnity of horizon in the *S. Cassiano Calvary*, in the glamour of a searching ray of light—there is high imagination and emotion. Among painters who follow the unregulated imagination he is one of the greatest.

He became a factor in the emancipation of Venetian painting into modern pictorial design. That this freedom of style may be traced back through Giorgione, the Bellini, and Mantegna, to the fundamental naturalism of the Florentine Donatello, and ultimately to Giotto, does not lessen Tintoretto's contribution. Between such a master and the mere imitators of Giorgione and Titian—the Bordonese and Bonifazio's—a world intervenes.

TINTORETTO'S SCHOOL.—Tintoretto's daughter and his son Domenico, and Andrea "Schiavone"—the assistant and imitator of Titian—inheriting Jacopo's colour. To Tintoretto's daughter are given<sup>1</sup> a series of *Portraits* at Madrid of lovely quality, showing first-rate powers in characterisation and very perfect and original colour. The technical emancipation of the craft is felt in many works of the school, as in the best pictures by Schiavone. One of the most beautiful works in Tintoretto's style is the *S. Ursula with the Ten Thousand Virgins* (Scuola di S. Marco), by an able pupil, which presents in the winding procession and rich garments a group of the rarest suggestion and boldest treatment

<sup>1</sup> By B. B.



in magnificent colour. To follow them further leads into the Late Renaissance and Baroque.<sup>1</sup>

### PAOLO VERONESE<sup>2</sup>

1528-1588

In Paolo Cagliari of Verona the style of art represented by Bonifazio continues in a more monumental style. Ceremonial and festivity mark the new Venetian taste, earlier seen in Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio, and Bonifazio, and carried on in Badile and Brusasorci of Verona, who marked the beginning of a decadent and baroque taste in Venice.<sup>3</sup> Yet Veronese himself is unspoiled and entirely wholesome. His reputed master, Antonio Badile, helps little to explain him. Richter<sup>4</sup> and Berenson emphasize the influence of Brusasorci upon the young painter, but his work is Venetian in spirit rather than provincial, although in some early pictures, which are looser in form and pattern than later work, as the *Deposition*, London, a light colour scheme and less forceful execution betrays the influence of the Veronese masters, particularly Brusasorci. Yet in other early pictures,<sup>5</sup> as the *Martyrdom of S. Giustina* (Uffizi), Titian's forming influence is evident.

Veronese's life seems to have been uneventful, except that he was evidently at home in the magnificent events which seem to have made Venetian life a continual pageant. From his art he appears as a man of the world, gracious and tolerant, at once a participator and an onlooker, the friend and painter of the characters he so courteously portrays. He so sympathises with the life about him that he tends to secularise religious themes, and in the religious reaction of the time he was called before the Inquisition and rebuked for the humorous motives—monkeys, etc.—introduced into a religious scene. He was courted and beset with orders. Some of the most magnificent commissions of the Ducal Palace are his, and his paintings abound in Venice and

<sup>1</sup> The famous El Greco of the Spanish school was a pupil of Tintoretto.

<sup>2</sup> Von Hadeln's essay, *Th.-B. Lex.*, most authoritative publication on Veronese.

<sup>3</sup> See Badile's *Presentation*, Turin, and Brusasorci's *Historical Scenes*, Pal. Ridolfi, Verona.

<sup>4</sup> *Lectures on the National Gallery*.

<sup>5</sup> Early according to B. B.

elsewhere. He nobly carried on the Titian spirit. The *Enthroned Madonna and SS.* (Venice Academy) suggests Titian's *Pesaro Madonna*, and the *Rape of Europa*, with its tapestry-like blending of figures in a tissue of landscape, obviously illustrates the influence of Titian's mythological pictures, especially the *Diana at Madrid*, with a hint of Giorgione. The vast *Marriage of Cana* (Louvre), the *Meeting of Darius with Alexander* (London), the *Feast in the House of Levi* (Venice), coming late in his life, and his altarpieces are ceremonial in character, with the grandeur of pomp of Titian's mature works.

Veronese is at his best in intimate votive *Conversazioni*, as the *Madonna with the Cuccina Family* (Dresden), and especially in the *Supper at Emmaus* (Louvre), containing portraits of himself and his family, which is perhaps his masterpiece. This, though somewhat damaged, in the subtle design, in its human interest, its intimate portraiture, and simple votive feeling, completely illustrates Veronese's art. Moreover the characteristic Venetian reality, the subordination of monumental and dramatic motives to description, the easy, almost informal arrangement with no loss of dignity, the rightness of everything, leaves us less amazed than fully satisfied. These pictures give a revelation of the temper of Venetian feeling quite as priceless as a great poem of the age.

The scenes are backed by his landscape of town and sea and sky—the decorative loveliness of a cloud-bedecked sky of the inland Veneto; the suffused, vaporous illumination of the lagoons in spring, in which green is the dominant note. Especially interesting is the treatment in the *S. Antony Preaching* (Borghese), where an almost unique use of cloudy skies in a sea background predicts the development of certain modern landscape ideals. As an example of his gay spirit and of his decorative skill, witness the *Villa Giacomelli* at Maser, near Asolo, which exhibits the gay invention of the painter on a holiday, as it were. Room after room illustrates the master's complete control of decorative proprieties stretched to the verge of breaking. A huntsman opening a door at the end of a vista of rooms is realistic to the point of deception; figures on the cornice are almost projected into the room—an effect which is perhaps counteracted by the truth of the action and of the light colour-tone, and by the communicated sense of the artist's evident intention. He seems

to take the visitor into his confidence. See, he says, this is not deception. I am introducing you to a play which we both recognise, and which adds to the pleasure of your excursion.

Veronese's infrequent single portraits are intimate characterisations, notable as colour harmonies, based usually upon green, as the *Man in Green* (Verona). They are less stately than Titian's, but perhaps more genial and modern, forecasting Rubens.

Veronese's bias was toward gracious and serene picturing of the magnificent outer world. He gives full expression to a prosperous worldliness. Health, riches, and beauty are woven together into a perfectly adjusted scheme of living, where served and serving are alike fortunate. And he does this with such consummate skill; he is so full of life and genial humour that in his kind he is a perfect painter.

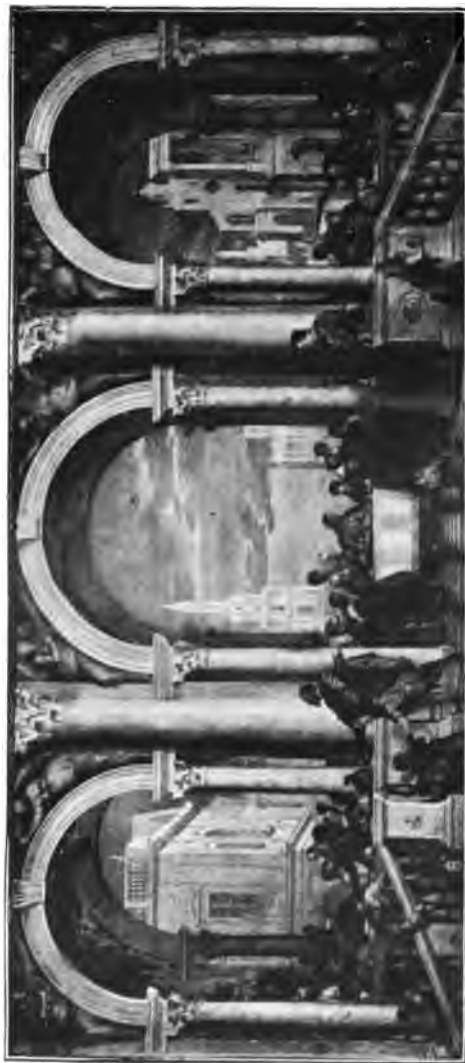
Tintoretto and Veronese are thought of primarily in terms of their matchless colour: Tintoretto at his best<sup>1</sup> as a poet of golden illumination; Veronese for his quieter harmonies of fluid, air-bathed tones; while colour with Titian is an essential generalisation of all colour, of the reds and blues especially; a picture by Titian synthesises daylight, while with Tintoretto there is a twilight hour or some peculiar light, and with Veronese we feel the effect of season.

With Veronese the great masters passed. Venetian painting during the 17th century practically did not exist. Later it was to Veronese that the 18th-century Venetian decorators and landscape painters turned—Tiepolo,<sup>2</sup> and Canaletto, and Guardi; and Veronese has been the inspiration of the modern decorative revival in Europe and America.

<sup>1</sup> In portraits and early works and a few others. See p. 300 (Ante-Collegio).

<sup>2</sup> The influence of the *Rape of Europa* may be observed in Tiepolo's early pictures in their linear design and flat pattern.

Fig. 98.



*Naya.*

FEAST IN THE HOUSE OF LEVI.

Page 287.

Venice.

PAOLO VERONESE.

Fig. 99.



CROCFIXIONE,  
Page 253.

TINTORETTO.

*Alinari,*

Scuola (?) S. Rocco, Venice.

## MINOR FOLLOWERS OF GIORGIONE AND TITIAN

WE find again, as so constantly in Italian art, that men of even third or fourth-rate quality, by virtue of the discipline in beauty which characterised the race, add to the sum total of our delight in Venetian painting. These painters are so numerous that it is impossible to do much more than mention a representative few.

The minor men of the High Renaissance fall naturally into several more or less closely related groups: 1. Those born but a few years later than Giorgione and Titian, practically contemporaries, sometimes directly influenced at first by the older generation, as Lotto, Cariani, and Pordenone; 2. Those a little younger, apparently starting out under the influence of Palma, or Giorgione, or Titian, as Bordone and Bonifazio; 3. and those coming still later, the pupils of Giorgione's or Titian's pupils, as Bassano; these also shared, of course, the general influence of Giorgione and Titian: how could it be otherwise when Titian outlived almost all of them? Between them are all shades of connection and influence, and there are also the divisions made between those in the direct stream, and those held back by provincial attachments, or diverted by various alien influences; the subdivisions are infinite.

### I

**Lotto, 1480-1556.**<sup>1</sup>—One of the most interesting of the first group is Lorenzo Lotto, who belongs to the 16th century, but in whom the previous generation lingers, and it is not until his later work that he becomes important from a High Renaissance aspect. His early works place him among the followers of the Vivarini

<sup>1</sup> See for full discussion Berenson's exhaustive *Lorenzo Lotto*. When Berenson called him a pupil of Alvise, *op. cit.*, 80, critics were doubtful, but a connection between them is now generally considered probable.

and Bellini, with Cima, Basaiti, and their connection. Although he is one of the most original, inventive, and prolific masters of the High Renaissance, he is really, except for his technique, a side issue. His life is interesting because he shared in the religious revival which made itself felt in the early 16th century in Italy as well as in Northern Europe. Withdrawing from the world, he devoted himself to perfecting his art. And his art is interesting because, starting with Venetian quattrocento training, he worked out in the provinces a style of remarkably modern ease. He was a sensational talent of amazing versatility, but of the sort that one thinks of as accidental, without practical inspiration for others. In early work he is constrained, later eclectic.<sup>1</sup> Receptive, and ever varying, he lacks reserve force and a consistent idea; all he has he gives irresponsibly, but whether superb or rather slight,<sup>2</sup> he is always sincere. His portraits are full of intimate character and true in design. One or two are superior. One—of an *Old Man* (Milan)—is a masterpiece. His late style is remarkable for breadth and technical skill. No other Italian painter is quite so modern in technique, and his late landscape is naturalistic and romantic. One delights in Lotto for a brief moment; but even when most lovely he has no mystery, no passion, no high power.

**Pordenone, 1483-1540.**—Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone also belongs to the early group with Palma and Lotto, and like them he really belongs to the High Renaissance, although he is more provincial than they in his larger compositions. Probably beginning as a pupil of Alvise Vivarini, he finally expanded under the influence of Giorgione and Titian, and is distinguished for his facility in large decorative fresco wall-painting. The *Adoration of the Magi* (1520, Treviso), somewhat faulty in proportion, and heavy in its naturalism, is still dramatic and full of force. In portraiture he is original in colour and highly interesting, as in the *Madonna of Carmel with the Ottobon Family* (Venice), where there are unexpected harmonies of cool blues, purples, and wine reds, and where the religious subject is quite subordinated to an aristocratic and sympathetic presentation of a family group. The execution is broad and beautiful. Several portraits of

<sup>1</sup> See *Altarpiece* (1516) in San Bartolommeo, Bergamo. See, as rather trivial in conception, the three *Predelle* of above.

<sup>2</sup> See *Portrait of a Man*, Capitol, Rome, and *Portrait of a Lady*, Milan.

women, as in the Venice Academy, reach the same high level of beauty. They lack Titian's perfection of design, but are in advance of Palma in freedom and colour.<sup>1</sup>

**Cariani**,<sup>2</sup> c. 1480—c. 1544, of Bergamo?—Another contemporary of Giorgione and Titian, Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, deserves attention for his confusing and versatile eclecticism. The agreeable and commonplace *Venus in a Landscape* (Berlin) and others betray the influence of one of his probable teachers, Palma. Numerous portraits imitate Giorgione's idealising of form and his subjective expression. At times Cariani is confused with Giorgione, and therefore he receives more critical attention than his works would of themselves justify.<sup>3</sup> But there is substantial agreement upon characteristic pictures, though he seldom signs his work. The style is dry, facile, loose in construction, at once too hot and too cold in colour, but often pleasing.

**Savoldo**, c. 1480—1548.—Also of the first group is Girolamo Savoldo of Brescia, an isolated talent, who worked partly in Venice, and won high esteem both there and at home. Perhaps taught by Bonsignori of the Vivarini-Bellini following, certainly influenced by Bellini and by Titian and other contemporaries, he is less clever than Cariani, but more important for his personal conception in a quiet art that often shows both power and grandeur.

## II

**Bonifazio**, active c. 1510—1540.<sup>4</sup>—In the second group we find Bonifazio I ("Veronese"<sup>5</sup>) of Verona, probably a pupil of Palma, a charming, original, yet quite secondary Giorgionesque artist, who breaks the rank of Venetian painting, but seems so

<sup>1</sup> According to C. & C., *N. It.*, III, an early dated work is *Madonna of Mercy*, 1515, Duomo, Pordenone. Ridolfi and C. & C. suggest the obscure Pellegrino da San Daniele (= Martini da Udini?) as his first master; the *Frescoes*, 1520, Duomo, Treviso, justify his claim to leadership among the artists of the Friuli.

<sup>2</sup> See von Hadeln on Cariani in *Th.-B. Lex.*

<sup>3</sup> Cariani may have worked upon unfinished compositions of Giorgione, but the simplest explanation of questioned works, if they are by Cariani, is of an exceptional inspiration from the great master, crude and cold though they are in composition and colour.

<sup>4</sup> See von Hadeln in *Th.-B. Lex.* on Bonifazio.

<sup>5</sup> So-called to distinguish him from his immediate followers, Bonifazio II and Bonifazio III, who are of slight importance. For date refer to series of articles by Ludwig in *Pr. Jahrb.*, XXII, XXIII.



identified with Venetian life and character that he can hardly be called a provincial master. More literally naturalistic than Palma or Titian, his pictures frankly become incidents in ordinary life—social gatherings in palace courtyards, out-of-door pleasuring at country villas. Few pictures of the time tell us more about the actual life of that kind. The popularity of such art was evidently enormous, yet its immediate influence is less than might have been expected, and Bonifazio was without much significance in the growth of Venetian style.

**Bordone, 1495–1570.**—Another is Paris Bordone, an independent and assertive master, Titian's ablest adherent. In religious or mythological or historical scenes he is often grandiose, as in the well-known *Doge and Fisherman* in Venice, and in some late works he is external in conception and loose in treatment, indicating decadence. He is best in simple portrait subjects, which are masterly—full of richness and life and a sensuous delight in the texture of fabric and flesh.

**Schiavone, 1522?–1582.**—Of finer temper and truer originality than Bordone was Andrea Meldolla, called "Schiavone,"<sup>1</sup> who, however, is far less important historically than Bordone as representing Titian's school, and really merges into the third group. He develops the idyllic side of Titian's art, in some of his smaller and decorative works, partly under Giorgione's influence. At a later period he translates some of Tintoretto's fantasies into a minor key, with strange and often beautiful colour and execution. **POLIDORO LANZIANI (1515?–1565)** deserves a passing notice for his facile cleverness, but has no independent power and little seriousness.

**Da Treviso, 1497–1544.**<sup>2</sup>—On the other hand, Girolamo da Treviso the younger shows a rare spirit in at least two or three works, in which Giorgione may be felt as an educating force. One of these is the *Portrait of a Man* in a pensive attitude holding a jewel (Rome). Another, *S. Roch between SS. Sebastian and Jerome*, in the Salute (Venice), breathes a fresh sentiment, serious and devout, unusual in Venetian art of the time. Girolamo retains something of the searching tone of the quattrocento.

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with the 15th c. Gregorio Schiavone, the pupil of Squarcione.

<sup>2</sup> Pupil, according to B. B., *Lists*, of his obscure Bellinesque father Pier Maria Pennachi.

## III

Licinio, active 1520–1544.<sup>1</sup>—In the third group—of those who follow the men influenced by Giorgione and Titian—Pordenone had various followers, among them FRANCESCO BECCARUZZI of Conegliano, a younger pupil who has to his credit certain dignified, if somewhat heavy, altarpieces, and is noteworthy as a portrait painter. Licinio, also, the relative and pupil of Pordenone, inherits his portrait gift. His devotional pictures, as with so many others of his generation, are inferior to his numerous portraits. These are at times Giorgionesque, but are never mere imitations. The design is somewhat constrained, the colour and execution thin, yet the style is a phase of the Venetian genius, and some are very fine: the *Family Group* at Hampton Court is especially charming in the characterisation of the children, simple, and sympathetic, with a lingering over textures and surfaces, yet with entire breadth and ease. We have the spirit of realistic portraiture at its best. Such pictures introduce modern modes of art, and are more winning than the imposing historical pieces of these secondary men.

The Bassani.<sup>2</sup>—The family of the Bassani is a remarkable instance of talent inherited from one generation to another. FRANCESCO BASSANO THE ELDER, seemingly a follower of Montagna, is quite *sui generis*; provincial, a little archaic, very competent and engaging; to be seen in numerous attractive examples at Hampton Court and in Bassano, as in the *Betrothal of S. Catherine* (Bassano), with its 15th-century feeling.

His son, JACOPO BASSANO (1510–1592),<sup>3</sup> the most gifted of the family, is an open-air genre painter with the tradition of monumental painting, a lover of nature and country life and its common things, yet a true stylist, and in execution one of the best. A pupil of Bonifazio, he was formed under the influence of Titian and his late contemporaries. In figure composition he is influenced by Tintoretto, though free from Tintoretto's restlessness and extravagance; <sup>4</sup> and Veronese is his chief inspiration

<sup>1</sup> For family names, see Bode-Burchardt, *Der Cicerone*, III, 880. He is variously called "de Corticellis," "de Sacchis," "Regillo," "Licinio."

<sup>2</sup> See Gerola's authoritative articles in *Th.-B. Lex.*

<sup>3</sup> See F. Wickhoff, *Aus. Jahrb.*, XXIV, 90–4.

<sup>4</sup> See his portraits, Vienna; Hampton Court.

in general design and in his beautiful skies. Narrower and less aristocratic than the great men, he is still of the same artistic race, with no decadence in him. He is an able, though matter-of-fact, portrait painter. Depicting a phase of life hitherto hardly attempted, he contrives to lift his homely subjects into the sphere of universal human sympathy, creating a true and independent style, not in itself provincial, as it is with the Bergamasque and Brescian masters. To the charm of intimate description he adds a rare colour sense with a quite fresh invention, and an illumination tending to deep shadow, and in late work tending to a sacrificing of colour to radiating light. Typical examples are the early *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Ambrosiana), where Tintoretto's influence is strong in the composition, but which is independent in colour and naturalistic quality; and a very beautiful early *Adoration of the Magi* (Edinburgh). The *Family Group* (Uffizi) is very fine as illustrating life by a frank and expressive art. There are altarpieces and other representative examples in the gallery and churches of Bassano, his native place, and at Hampton Court and at Vienna. Those at Hampton Court are freer in style than the early works, masterly in composition and drawing, lovely in colour—straw colour and greens with a distinctly local atmosphere.

Of Jacopo Bassano's pupils, his son LEANDRO is the most individual, and inherits the technical skill of his father, but is colder in colour and more facile, less serious. Other followers of Jacopo, as the younger FRANCESCO, imitate the style, often with freedom, but tend to obscure the master's talent.

#### IV

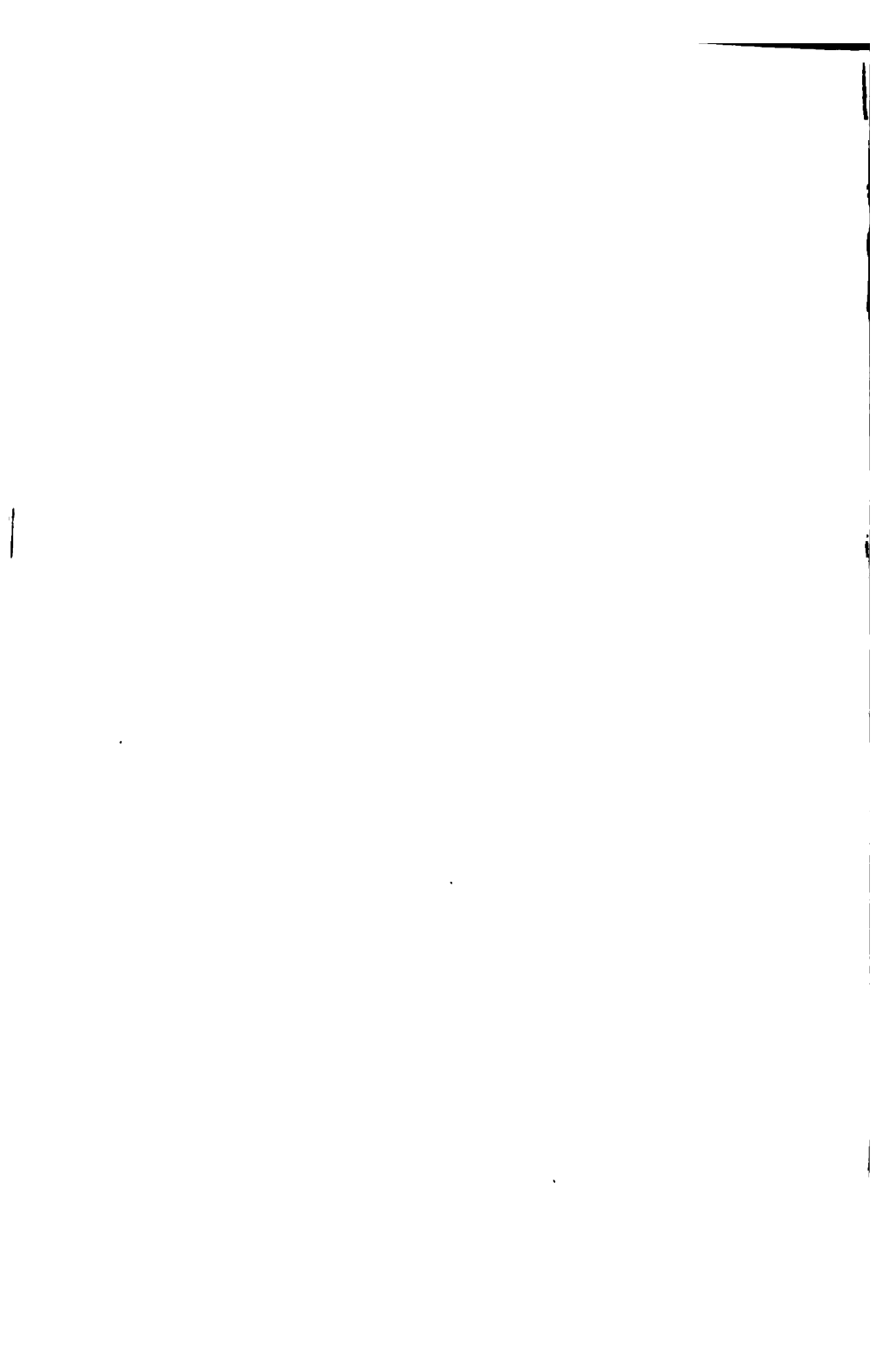
The golden age in Venice ended with Tintoretto and Bassano. The late 16th and the 17th centuries were markedly decadent. This and the over-production with the help of assistants by the great masters may be seen in the numerous poor late pictures in the Doge's Palace. Men like Palma the younger and Padovino mark the immense fall.

**Palma Giovane**, 1544-c. 1628.—Jacopo Palma, called *Il Giovane*,<sup>1</sup> to distinguish him from Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, who was a relative, perhaps his grand-uncle, belonged to an eclectic

<sup>1</sup> Ridolfi is the chief early authority.

and decadent school, but has considerable interest. He called himself a pupil of Titian, and it was he who finished Titian's *Pietà* after Titian's death, but his style more often shows the influence of Tintoretto, and is apt to be either slight or pretentious. He is said to have worked at Urbino and Rome, and his best painting is at Mantua—the *Cavaliere d'Arpino of Venice*. His late works in Venice after about 1568 are less serious than his earlier ones; the immense *Last Judgment* in the Doge's Palace is typically decadent—a riot of rhetorical emphasis with spotty effects and cold colour. Much younger than Palma Giovane, and living a generation later, came ALESSANDRO VAROTARI, called PADOVININO (1590?–1650), a Paduan by birth, who is known as an imitator of Titian and Paolo Veronese. But though following Titian in technique he is often trivial in motive and incorrect in drawing. His earliest known work is the *Doubting Thomas* (1610, Eremitani, Padua). Another example is the *Marriage of Cana* (1622, Venice), which shows Veronese's influence. His best work is perhaps the *S. Liberatus* (Carmine, Venice). He was a naturalist rather than a formal eclectic, and his work shows vivid if often rather commonplace scenes from real life with interesting portraiture in place of any great beauty of form or colour.

With these Late Painting has fairly begun.



**PART VI**  
**NORTH ITALY IN THE HIGH**  
**RENAISSANCE**  
**ROME, NAPLES, AND SICILY. THE BAROQUE**



# HIGH RENAISSANCE NORTH ITALY

## CORREGGIO<sup>1</sup>

1494-1534

ONE North Italian painter, outside of Venice, belongs with the great Europeans—with Giorgione and Titian, with Velasquez and Rubens. Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, from his birth-place, was born in the town of Correggio, within short journeys of Ferrara and Bologna and Mantua. His first master may have been an uncle; nothing is further known except that he was certainly brought up in the artistic tradition of Ferrara-Bologna.<sup>2</sup> When quite young he was sent to Mantua, where Mantegna's work gave a lasting inspiration, and where he studied the works of Costa and Dosso Dossi. He was at work in Parma (Convent of S. Paolo) in 1518, when twenty-four years old. He was in Correggio off and on from 1519-1521, and married there, but soon after settled permanently in Parma (1521), where his powers were given full scope in two great decorations, that of S. Giovanni Evangelista and that of the Cathedral, besides which he executed a host of smaller pictures. After the death of his wife (1529) he retired to Correggio, where he continued to paint until he died, at the age of forty, in 1534.

Correggio's early work (up to 1515, when he was twenty-one), of which many pictures remain, is often delightful. The influences are clearly seen of Costa and Dosso Dossi and Mantegna. The typical altarpiece of his early style is the *Enthroned Madonna and SS.* (1515, Dresden). This shows the Ferrarese element in the early design and long proportions, the encircling curves of Costa, the sculpture and canopy of the throne derived from Padua through Bianchi-Ferrari, with a

<sup>1</sup> Gronan's fine article, *Th.-B. Lex.*, VII, authoritative. Ricci's *Correggio*, important monograph. See also Moore's *Correggio*, interesting. For a discriminating appreciation of Correggio, see Blashfield's *Correggio in Parma, in It. Cities.*

<sup>2</sup> See Ricci for Correggio's masters. Bianchi-Ferrari is reputed to be one.



simplification due to Ercole Roberti. The proportions are appropriate, the landscape in keeping. The sentiment is quiet, except for the Baptist's conventional gesture. The chief group recalls Mantegna's more intimate style. The effect is a little over-studied, and there is a hint of Correggio's later affectation, but the gracious gesture of the Virgin, and the angel figures, are personal touches of his true feeling. Some of the smaller pictures of the early period are of faultless taste and full of emotion. Mantegna's inspiration is seen in the *Madonna Enthroned with SS.* and in the *Betrothal of S. Catharine* (Milan, 1512-1514), with its garlanded background.<sup>1</sup> Here an especially intimate tone, a reticence in ornament, and a melting mood contrast with Ferrarese definition. The masterpiece of this group, however, is the *Madonna with Angels in a Glory* (Uffizi).<sup>2</sup> Mantegna's form is here, but in the sweet human feeling, in the perception of surface beauties, in the low colour of gold and the cooler blues and purples, Correggio finds personal expression. He never went beyond this perfection. Here the votive feeling is still real. Soon the secular spirit conquers, as in the little *Madonna of the Prado*, Madrid. Nothing can be more playfully human, but the earlier seriousness is lost. In descriptive subjects the originality of vision still more appears. The *Nativity* (Crespi collection, Milan) or the *Christ Taking Leave of Mary* (1513-1514, London), express the utmost emotion compatible with the dignity of the subjects. A persuasive and tense dramatic conception of the event is controlled by classic propriety. Here again Mantegna's influence is present, with a fresh manner in the landscape. In the Crespi *Nativity*, indeed, the landscape plays an almost equal part in the drama. Without the insight and grand structure of the first-rate imagination, there is breadth of observation, a feeling for nature, an amazing life and flow.

These early pictures link Correggio with the past. There follows an awkward period of three years (1515-1518) where the artist is with difficulty becoming independent, as in the *Rest in Flight*, Uffizi. But by 1518 he has found himself. And in his decorations at Parma he created a manner of painting which breaks with tradition. His first work there was the decoration of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mantegna's *Madonna and SS.*, Trivulzio collection.

<sup>2</sup> Once ascribed to Titian. Attrib. to Correggio by Morelli, now universally accepted.

the salon of the Abbess of the Convent of S. Paolo (1518, fin. 1519), a convent which sheltered aristocratic ladies, and where it is said the life was not wholly withdrawn from the gaieties of this world. The curving ceiling is painted with a trellis of vines with oval openings at intervals through which peep playful bambini out of the blue depths of sky. Sunshine and fresh air and spontaneous vivacity and soft, rosy child-flesh—the joy of life—are brought indoors. The design is based upon Mantegna at Mantua. But such abandon to conscious delight in purely physical sensation was a new artistic achievement—an achievement which he afterwards repeated in different forms, and which was personal to himself. The architectonic laws of decoration are indeed broken. The pattern overflows the frame-work and pierces the ceiling. But the experiment is an entire success. There are but two other of his mythological pictures of this early period, *The Education of Cupid* (London) and *Antiope with Zeus as a Satyr* (Louvre), both of 1521–1522.

After a brief stay in Correggio, his native place (1519–1521), where he married, Correggio settled in Parma and began the decoration of the dome of the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista with the fresco of the *Assumption* (1520–1524).<sup>1</sup> Here he carried farther his effect of soft human bodies against depths of sky, in a great experiment of foreshortening and light. In the centre the figure of the Saviour ascends boldly into the open, luminous sky. Around the base of the dome the twelve apostles, figures that come near to being monumental, rest upon cumulus clouds, in well-balanced groups that firmly support the composition. Beneath and between them, nestling into the clouds, are little genii, playful and bewitching, with tender, translucent child-flesh. The invention, the variety and facility of motives, the perspective, are stupendous. Add to this a sense of light permeating the whole composition, and Correggio becomes a very great painter. The types and attitudes, the dignity of conception, the use of child-life, the light and shade, suggest some knowledge of the Sistine ceiling and of Raphael. This would not have been difficult. Correggio was never in Rome, but sketches and descriptions made famous works common property. Other influences, however, are

<sup>1</sup> He also decorated the semi-dome of the apse, a portion of which is now in the Biblioteca of Parma, and he executed the dignified lunette of *S. John on Patmos*, over a door in the church.

sufficient explanation: chiaroscuro derived from Venice is seen in Dosso Dossi, Mantegna's foreshortening against an open sky at Mantua evidently influenced the artist greatly, dignity of pose and composition is found in a hundred portraits and altarpieces of the Venetian school scattered through North Italy. Yet show his derivation as we may, Correggio here is a great creator. No other artist has just the peculiar quality by which Correggio interprets and gives new meaning to atmosphere and light.

Correggio, however, could not rest in simple dignity. He was fascinated with the problems of domical decoration. The decoration of the dome of the Cathedral at Parma with the *Vision of S. John* immediately followed (1524-1530), and this further opportunity lured him to his destruction. The soaring hosts plunging into the depths of ether have lost restraint and reason; the detail is vulgar, and the science ugly. It remains, however, in restless grandiosity, the chief *tour de force* of its kind, albeit an intolerable kind. Here the Baroque, at its very starting-point, appears fully fledged. The only relief to the scheme is in *The Four Patron Saints* in the pendentives, which appear one in quality with the groups in *S. Giovanni*. That he lost favour by the failure is clear. His public would not follow him, and on his wife's death he retired to Correggio, leaving the Cathedral work unfinished.

The altarpieces of his mature style offend decorative canons less. Their value depends mainly on their finish, easy drawing, and composition. Add their pleasing colour, their obvious sentiment with its melodramatic tinge, and their popular hold is explained. It was a prolific period for him, with few distractions. The most popular of these works are *Il Giorno*—*Madonna with S. Jerome* and others—(Parma), and the *Holy Night (La Notte)* of Dresden (finished 1530), which have bewitched every subsequent generation. They illustrate the complete triumph of a certain narrow ideal. We gain an inimitable beauty, though of the earth. No painter reveals a greater capacity to engage a purely sensuous vision.

On his removal to Correggio in 1529 he painted actively until his death there in 1534. The late pictures are generally essays in plasticity of light and shade, or in violent rhythms of movement, or expressions of exuberant decorative facility. Triviality and extravagance are still less appropriate in smaller

works than in the Parma Cathedral. But the experiments are within his range, and he increasingly sought to delight rather than to astonish. The mood refines upon that with which his artistic career began. The permeating grey colour tone already hinted at in his previous experiments is characteristic of this late period, and it is pleasant to realise that some of his finest works came at the end. He is at this time confined to easel-pictures, sometimes for altarpieces, as the *Madonna with S. George* (Dresden), sometimes mythological, as the *Leda* (Berlin) and *Io* (Vienna). Of the mythological pictures the *Danae* (Borghese) best reveals his sensitive appreciation of the qualities of sifting light and air and the exquisite modelling of the human figure. The scene, conceived in a harmony of luminous greys, is removed into a fairy-world by extraordinary delicacy of gradations in form and colour. The treatment is un-moral, if you will, but far removed from vulgar, to the artist it is entrancing.

Correggio's art delighted his contemporaries, and still wins hosts of lovers, but for all his phenomenal originality, Correggio just misses the rank of the greatest. He in general reflects the average emotion, the obvious aspect of beauty. His failings are limitations rather than faults. His success is that of the supreme craftsman. All other great Renaissance leaders express some relation of their art to life at large. He spends himself in profuse energies, with little appeal to the higher imagination. He has an inspired instinct and intense sensations rather than thoughtful design or an insight into mysteries. He presents the joyous vision of the external world, and in doing so he discovers a whole continent of beauty, and conquers it with heroic ease. Not to love him is contrary to a universal instinct for the perfectibility of physical human life.

FOLLOWERS OF CORREGGIO.—Of Correggio's few direct pupils we can barely mention RONDINI; ANSELMI, who was born in Lucca, studied with Sodoma in Siena, and finally came to Parma in 1518, and worked under Correggio in S. Giovanni; finally the aristocratic and gracious FRANCESCO MAZZOLA PARMIGIANINO, Filippo Mazzola's son, a vigorous portrait painter and refined master of decorative paintings,<sup>1</sup> who shows mannerism that almost class him as Baroque. He was the chief follower of Correggio, but studied in Rome as well, and was influenced by

<sup>1</sup> He has long-proportioned figures, and grey, nacrous colour.

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the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. The painters of the Emilia in the second half of the century show Correggio's influence under the lead of the Carracci, but except for a sporadic following in the local region and some effect upon the eclectics of the next century, the style hardly resulted in a new movement.

North Italy indeed, in the 16th century, continues to be rich in artists hidden in the great galleries, who deserve to be better known, and may be seen in the smaller cities; but their importance is overshadowed by the painters of the Baroque period.

## MINOR HIGH RENAISSANCE PAINTERS OF NORTH ITALY<sup>1</sup>

### EMILIA

OUTSIDE of Venice the strains of artistic breeding were as much commingled as ever ; Venetian influence appears everywhere, but the local quality is retained in certain schools.

**Ferrara.**—Famous High Renaissance masters appeared in the Emilia—Dosso Dossi and Garofalo at Ferrara, Correggio, as we have seen, near by, and lesser masters. Ferrara again, as it had earlier, became more important than Bologna, and remained so until the time of the Bologna Carracci.

**Dosso Dossi, 1479–1542.**—A master of real gifts, Giovanni Luteri, called Dosso Dossi, was the most important of the Ferrara school after Tura. A decline from Tura is marked in his strong, unrefined colour, his exotic picturesqueness, his intelligence, in place of insight or emotion, his eclecticism ; yet there is also a romance, an heroic quality, a fascination, a personal inspiration. His quality, never quite simple, is cumulative and modern, and to be understood must be studied in all his works. In presumably early work the native tradition survives, as in the *Annunciation* (Ferrara). This soon yields to the influence of Venice in the *Circe* of the Borghese. Here is a reflection of Giorgione's poetry through del Piombo (?), and a humanistic feeling along with the romance, a quality which develops later on. This development is seen in the fine *Hercules* at Graz,<sup>2</sup> and in the *Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, and Iris* (Visnao), a masterpiece which shows the complete modernity of his style. This literary humanism is his most original quality, but an extra-artistic one, which fails to bring him into the highest rank. Dossi is the last great name in Ferrarese art, but there is an afterglow of talent which merges into the

<sup>1</sup> Berenson's illuminating essays in his *N. Italy* should be read, especially in connection with these painters.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pr. Jahrb.*, XXI, 264, 267.

general late eclecticism of the Emilia and North Italy. This is seen in **BENVENUTO TISI**, called **IL GAROFALO** (1481-1559),<sup>1</sup> an eclectic of ability and some charm. He is too prolific and monotonous, and somewhat cold in colour, yet has ease and suavity, a pictorial sense for space, and a security in formal composition which is derived partly from Raphael. He may be gauged in the *Madonna with Three SS.* (Modena), and also in the glowing *Annunciation* (Rome), under Dossi's influence, an exceptionally pleasing work.

Besides these, several Ferrarese masters of the cinquecento are emancipated from provincial narrowness by individuality and an intelligent eclecticism. Among these is **GIAN BATTISTA BENVENUTI**, called **ORTOLANO**, formerly confused with Garofalo, but somewhat earlier and stronger than he, an obscure personality in whom we find continued the more severe qualities of the Grandi. The capricious and mannered **LUDOVICO MAZZOLI**, called **MAZZOLINO** (c. 1478-1528), a pupil of Ercole Roberti, also belongs to the High Renaissance, yet keeps a certain loyalty to the earlier mode. His art is decorative, various, always rather little in conception, barely escaping the baroque, yet it is a genuine contribution to the style. **LORENZO LEONBRUNO** is another, a follower of Costa who belongs essentially to the High Renaissance. The Ferrarese style is clear even when quite removed from the central points. It gave rise to many provincial essays in the Emilia and Romagna, which need a special knowledge to follow.<sup>2</sup>

A school capable of breeding Tura and Dosso Dossi, of educating Francia and Correggio, and of indirectly starting Raphael upon his career, has no mean claims.

## LOMBARDY

### I

**BRESCIA.**—While Milan had become largely Leonardesque, at Brescia, the city of Foppa, the North Italian style had a magnificent High Renaissance flowering in Moretto, Moroni,<sup>3</sup> Romanino and the Venetian-trained Savoldo, before spoken of.

<sup>1</sup> Ricci discovers the influence of Boccaccino, Pantetti, Costa, Palma Vecchio, Ortolano, Dossi, Raphael. The numerous fine examples in Ferrara exhaust his range.

<sup>2</sup> As at Imola and Ravenna.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with Domenico Morone of Verona.

**Moretto, 1498-1554.**—Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto, is the best possible example of a great provincial artist. He would not be so great were he less Brescian, and he dignifies the local spirit by the most serious artistic research, and often by exalted emotional tone. The naturalistic tendency of provincial art limits Moretto's ideals; indeed, his portraits show more truth than beauty of design; in his more rhetorical vein we often feel him almost Baroque. His earliest phase, illustrated in the *Madonna* at Philadelphia, shows an individual treatment of Bellinesque form, with sensitive and intimate realism, and many of his religious works, as the *S. Justina* (Vienna), though essentially secular portrait groups, yet escape the incongruity of the Late Venetian mingling of religious and secular. His colour is a cool, silvery harmony, of individual distinction. He can achieve great effects and a very modern design, and at his best, as in the great *Pietà* (New York), the votive spirit is noble and severe.

**Moroni, 1520-1578.**—Moretto's pupil, Gian Battista Moroni, is a narrower master, distinguished by numerous portraits, direct and vivid, as the famous *Tailor*, in London, or the sympathetic *Widower with Two Children* (Dublin). He is also known, less favourably, in religious art, for which his literalness was hardly suited.

**Romanino, 1485-1566.**—Girolamo Romani, called Romanino, is less well known. His looser, hotter temperament suggests the influence of Giorgione. His frescoes and panels—votive and mythological—and genre-like portraits and historical scenes, are often half-improvised, or at times dramatic, as in the series of *Frescoes* at Cremona, and in the *Christ at Emmaus* (Brescia). His colour is of flaming strength without Venetian refinement. A large *Enthroned Madonna with SS. and Angels* (Padua), which retains a reminiscence of the Early Renaissance, is a fine example illustrating a more conservative phase.

We must not omit CALISTO PIAZZA DA LODI (active between 1521-1562), with his numerous works at Lodi and elsewhere. He is not particularly Milanese, showing rather the effect of Romanino and the Venetians in a realistic, free, and broad style.



## II

CREMONA.—GIULIO CAMPI (c. 1500–1527) is well represented in votive frescoes and altarpieces at Cremona, and by charming portraits which recall Lotto's intimate tone, and which are mainly in private collections, as the Giorgionesque fancy portrait of a *Lady* in Milan. He is little seen in the larger galleries, which explains his being unknown to most of us. The quality and modern feeling of the masters of this class is also shown in the excellent and sympathetic original portraits of the famous woman painter, SOPHONISBA ANGISSOLA (1528–1625). She belonged to the naturalist and eclectic schools of the late Renaissance, and worked with such success as to be called to the Spanish Court and to win the praise of Van Dyke.

## PIEDMONT AND LIGURIA

## I

PIEDMONT.—In Piedmont a wealth of material resources encouraged constant activity from the Romanesque period down to our own times, but original ideas are few. There are magnificent Roman monuments, as at Susa and Aosta, feudal castles with half Gothic decoration,<sup>1</sup> and mediæval churches with frescoes of an attenuated Giottesque style, derived from Lombardy or by Lombard artists. In the Renaissance period there were numerous talented painters in various centres, and a vigorous type of Baroque architecture. But the painting of the region is essentially derivative, partly in Franco-Flemish modes.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it lapses into a genial and facile naturalism. The masters who rise above the provincial, or who are free from foreign fashions, owe this to the more central movements in Italian art. An illustration of the combined provinciality and dependence of Piedmontese art is presented in a primitive but fascinating *Madonna with Two Angels and Two SS.* (Città di Castello) signed by GIOVANNI PIEDMONTESE. It is a doll-like image of charming

<sup>1</sup> See Castle of Fenis, near Nux, Val d'Aosta; Castle of Manta, *L'Arte*, VIII, 4–106, 183–94.

<sup>2</sup> See Vent., III, for early connection with Provence in architecture. There a strong Franco-Flemish influence about 1500.

sensitiveness which yet imitates Piero della Francesca. Typical masters like GAUDENZIO FERRARI, MACRINO D'ALBA, the delightful if exotic DEFENDENTE FERRARI, and many others exhibit much the same incongruous mixture of a native, undisciplined, naturalistic tone with an alien, half-understood style. GAUDENZIO FERRARI is an example of the type. Half-Lombard in training, influenced by Bramantino, and slightly affected by Leonardo, he is both provincial and eclectic. His prodigious fertility and ease are seen in panel pictures and numerous frescoes. But he is most himself when least affected by the Lombard tradition. It is in such exuberant frescoes as the Saronno *Angel*, as compared to similar motives by Melozzo da Forli,<sup>1</sup> that we may measure the gulf between mere naturalism and a disciplined formal design. Gaudenzio is of little more than local significance in Italy.

The only Piedmontese master of the age to leap provincial bounds was SODOMA, who, after an obscure early phase of Piedmontese training, entered the group of Leonardo followers. He was essentially an eclectic free-lance, and his activity belonged to Rome and Central Italy rather than to North Italy. He produced many votive and humanistic paintings, and some pretty Leonardesque works. With his removal to Siena, about 1501, the essential artificiality of his facile talent appears in numerous frescoes and panels, of which the sickly *S. Catherine Series* (S. Domenico, Siena), and the *S. Sebastian* (Uffizi) are the best known. At Monte Oliveto, near Siena, the frescoes continuing Signorelli's series there show looseness of ideals as compared with the Central Italian tradition. Yet he was and is very popular, and from slovenly work he occasionally rises to effective compositions, such as his *Farnesina Frescoes* at Rome, where Raphael's influence is apparent.

## II

LIGURIA.—Piedmont impinges upon Liguria, the Italian coast-line from Nice to Spezzia which includes Genoa—the maritime rival of Venice. The domination of that Ligurian coast by the Genoese republic did not favour a local development of painting.<sup>2</sup> Foreign masters, German and Catalan, were

<sup>1</sup> From whom they ultimately derive, through Bramante and his school.

<sup>2</sup> For mediæval and Renaissance architecture and sculpture, see Ricci, *N. It.*, XVIII.

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employed in the Early Renaissance in much the same way that Rubens and Van Dyke were called there in the 17th century, and many secondary painters of Piedmont and Lombardy were also called.<sup>1</sup> There is indeed little of original initiative in the school. The native 15th-century masters are quite mediocre as compared to the foreign masters who came, as Justus of Ravensburg and Conrad of Germany.<sup>2</sup> Among the painters of Nice, at that time an Italian city, the Brea family is the most important, and LUDOVICO BREDA, trained in the Milanese school, collaborated with Vincenzo Foppa at Savona in the *Triptych* of 1490.<sup>3</sup>

The true school of Genoa is Baroque, and developed under the expansive influence of the Jesuit style of church and palace architecture. Two or three men are of more than local fame, as LUCA CAMBIASO, a decorator of grandiose facility influenced by the Venetians, IL GRECCHIETTO, a naturalistic painter of considerable originality, and G. B. CASTIGLIONE. Besides these, numerous mannered painters were employed in the decoration of the grandiose Baroque palaces of the region, and several capable followers of Van Dyke indicate the tendency of the school to a final disintegration under alien influence. The smaller centres of all North Italy indeed show rich products of the High Renaissance impulse through the 16th century. These, however, mean little for historical development. They are an aftermath of the great movements of Venice and Florence, and the study of them belongs rather to special than general art history.

<sup>1</sup> See the charming *Education of the Virgin*, by Lorenzo de Fazoli (Louvre).

<sup>2</sup> See in this hybrid style a vigorous altarpiece, *Madonna with Four Church Fathers* (SS. Annunziata, Pontremoli), with rich ornament, late pseudo-Gothic architecture, un-Italian types—German? Catalan? *Rass. d'Arte*, IV, 56, fasc. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See G. Brea, *Notizie intorno ai Pittori Nicesi, etc.*, Genoa, 1903; *Rass. d'Arte*, VIII, 167 ff. See Ricci, *N. It.*, fig. 423, for a *Pope* by Francesco Brea.

## ROME, NAPLES, SICILY

THE unimportant schools of South Italy include those of Rome,<sup>1</sup> Naples, and Lower Italy and Sicily,<sup>2</sup> and belong almost exclusively to the Late Renaissance. From 1300 foreign influences dominate. Not until the 16th century can native schools be properly distinguished, and they were derivative even then. At Rome during the 14th and 15th centuries artists came from Florence, Umbria, Siena, Lombardy, and Venice, and the native painters worked under their influence. In the small towns of Latium and the Abruzzi obscure provincials are found usually affiliated with Umbrian or Umbrο-Florentine artists.<sup>3</sup> ANTONIAZZO ROMANO,<sup>4</sup> a pupil of Melozzo, indicates ability in the group, but it is a third-rate derivative talent at the best, and no other Roman of the time emerges. The same was true of Naples, where Cavallini, Giotto, and Simone had worked, and where North Italian<sup>5</sup> and Flemish<sup>6</sup> styles appeared. This dependence is continued into the High Renaissance (16th century), when Rome is crowded with works by Raphael's followers, and by other decadents. Hosts of imported painters were working in all sorts of manners, only brought into a sort of unity by the influence of their surroundings.<sup>7</sup> Naples continued to share the same outside influences,<sup>8</sup> and in the Baroque period its art, under

<sup>1</sup> Including Latium and the Abruzzi.

<sup>2</sup> The school of Genoa (p. 309 f.) properly belongs here.

<sup>3</sup> Cola d'Amatrice, of the Abruzzi, is a type, a robust imitator of the Peruginese style; and Lorenzo da Viterbo, a follower of the style of Gozzoli and P. della Francesca.

<sup>4</sup> Noted p. 147 and n. 3, p. 309 f.

<sup>5</sup> As that of Leonardo da Besozzo of Milan, *Frescoes*, Naples, 1458.

<sup>6</sup> Nothing is definitely known about the French and Flemish works (E. 15th c.). *S. Jerome in his Study*, Naples, is one of the best.

<sup>7</sup> See the ZUCCARI, CAV. D'ARPINO TEMPESTA, POLIDORE CARAVAGGIO, a facile and florid decorator, DANIELE DA VOLTERRA.

<sup>8</sup> Early 16th c. Tuscan and Umbrian influences; works attrib. to Perugino and Pinturicchio; probably Antonio da Solario (not Andrea), the Lombard-Venetian (see *Boll. d'A.*, I, fasc. XII), was in Naples; also Cesare da Sesto and Francesco Napolitano. Note Raphael's influence. See L. Sessa, *L'Arte*, VIII, 340-54. The account of the early painters of Naples, *Vita, etc.*, by de

the dominance of the Spanish Ribera, had something the appearance of a school. But SALVATOR ROSA, Ribera's pupil, is the single Neapolitan to originate a true style; and in Rome the great CARAVAGGIO alone produced the effect of some consistency of purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Sicily should be considered as one with South Italy in the introduction of foreign modes,<sup>2</sup> except that a Catalan factor is there apparent. Antonello da Messina, its one great master, had worked outside of Sicily, although a notable group of Sicilian artists centred in his influence<sup>3</sup> until in the Baroque period Sicily yielded to the influence of Caravaggio and the late Naturalists.<sup>4</sup>

Dominici, pub. 1742, proved largely apocryphal; Frizzoni, *Arte Ital. del Rinasc.*, Milano, 1891, 1-93, finds three periods: 1. The Angevin (180 years), French, and Flemish influences; 2. Period of influence of Umbrian and Florentine 15th c. art; 3. That of N. Italian art, *see* Leon. da Bisozzo.

<sup>1</sup> The 17th c. so-called Roman masters include PIETRO DA CORTONA, decorator, trained under the Florentine Cigoli; SASSOFERRATO, with a genuine Umbrian-like sentiment; BURGUIGNON (Jacques Courtois), a Jesuit, famous for battle scenes; CARLO MARATTA; the sickly CARLO DOLCE of Florence; PANNINI, an 18th c. architectural painter in Rome; and a vigorous 18th c. school of engravers.

<sup>2</sup> Flemish, Lombard, Venetian.

<sup>3</sup> For ANTONELLO DA SALIBA (school of Antonello), *see* E. Brunelli, *L'Arte*, VII, 271 ff. Pietro da Messina is another follower.

<sup>4</sup> *See* the able PIETRO NOVELLI.

## THE LATE RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE

THE Late Renaissance is more important in Northern Europe than in Italy, and in the 17th century Italian styles interest less for themselves than for their effect in forming foreign artists—Rubens, Vandyck, Velasquez, and in France, Claude and Poussin. The Late Renaissance is decadent in Italy, until with the 17th and 18th centuries all consistent traditions were lost. The High Renaissance glides before we know it into the Baroque. The germs of this dispersion are at work earlier. The beginnings of the Baroque are found, in fact, in the High Renaissance, in Raphael's later design, in the grandiloquence of Michelangelo's last frescoes, in the pompous grandeur of Titian's larger altarpieces.

In general local schools are merged in the three prolific movements of the Mannerists, prominent in Florence; the Naturalists, with no particular centre unless in Rome; and the Eclectics, starting in Bologna.

**MANNERISTS.**—In Florence, indeed, the movement was at least based upon native ideals. The men who inherit style show a certain cold dignity, as in the portraits of PONTORMO and his pupil BRONZINO, while those who revert to mere impulse and nature—as typically GIOVANNI DI S. GIOVANNI and IL VOLTERRANO—display a distressing triviality based upon del Sarto's naturalism.

**LATE SIENA.**—At Siena the decline is more gracious. It begins in the High Renaissance with an eclectic movement imitating Pintoricchio, Perugino, and Raphael, of which the great architect, BALDASSARE PERUZZI,<sup>1</sup> is the only important master in painting. For the Baroque, DOMENICO BECCAFUMI leads the way in an artificial but inventive and often charming style, based upon Sodoma and the late Florentines. With him

<sup>1</sup> See p. 164.

came BRESCLANINO, whose Madonnas are wan reminiscences of an out-worn style, and late in the 16th century the SALIMBENI (Arcangelo and Ventura) and FRANCESCO VANNI illustrated with a facile mannerism the final phase of Sieneese painting.

NATURALISTS.—More significant than these local survivals is the so-called Roman school, because it gathers together individual talents, and offers them a field for development. There is hardly a Roman among them, but the great monuments of Rome tend to give a certain common impress. Among these men, called mannerists or naturalists according to their bent, are gifted if decadent painters, as FEDERIGO BAROCCIO<sup>1</sup> of Urbino, SASSOFERRATO, named after his native hamlet in the Apennines, and the vigorous DANIELE DA VOLTERRA. But the chief master of the school belongs in a different category, and achieves more universal rank. This is the Lombard CARAVAGGIO,<sup>2</sup> who, though trained in North Italy, is generally classed as Roman. His brutal realism is redeemed by knowledge and serious purpose, and in him the school of Naturalists exhausted itself. He gave a naturalistic tone to much subsequent painting, as that of France through his scholar the French VALENTIN, and of Spain through the Spanish RIBERA. The movement passed on to, among others, SALVATOR ROSA, the only famous Neapolitan painter, whose art is a sort of imaginative, romantic genre with sordid figures set in the gloomy grandeur of wild hills.

The ECLECTICS, while mainly Bolognese, were scarcely connected with the earlier Bolognese school. Their aim was to stem the current naturalism and to establish a standard based upon the combined styles of the great High Renaissance painters, Titian and Correggio in particular, an attempt by its very nature doomed to failure. The pioneers and most gifted of the Eclectics were the three CARACCI, Ludovico and his relatives, Agostino and Annibale. In their train were younger men, FRANCESCO ALBANI, the abler but seldom effective DOMENICHINO, GUIDO RENI, a decadent genius, with strained sentiment, but with beauty of execution and invention, the robust GUERCINO, and their numerous followers. The rare successes are such by virtue of individual enthusiasm.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Influenced Rubens.

<sup>2</sup> Consult L. Vent. in *L'Arte*, XIII, 191-201, 268-84.

<sup>3</sup> See Venetian-like *Landscape-Mythology*, by Annibale Carracci, Louvre; and *Diana Hunting*, by Domenichino, Borghese.

LATE VENICE.—Venice, which did not produce a single artist of more than local distinction in the 17th century, in the 18th became the one school of any importance. As the 17th century ends certain able Venetian decorators appear, as FUMIANI and SEBASTIANO RICCI, and the artificial PIAZZETTA, and in TIEPOLO<sup>1</sup> the Baroque finds a true expression of itself at its best, its lovely artificiality, its abandon and skill, its purely external beauty. To these Tiepolo added taste. His vast decorations are in a superbly vigorous and spontaneous style, inevitably decorative,<sup>2</sup> a memory of Paolo Veronese translated into the life of the 18th century. Other less monumental art is shown by PIETRO LONGHI, one of the best genre painters of manners in Europe, and ROSALBA CARRIERA, a woman famous for pastel portraits. The impulse toward independent landscape, coming from Holland, found effect in CANALETTO's intimate descriptions of Venetian life, set in wonderful, if conventionalised, atmospheric colour, and in the similar but more brilliant interpretations of GUARDI. BERNARDO BELLOTTO, 1720–1780, a strong but more commonplace talent, ended this phase of Venetian painting, which had countless imitations of a dull, mechanical kind.<sup>3</sup> This completes the picture of one great phase of Italy's gift to culture.

Art seems to need nurture from other human activities, and the history of Italy from the middle of the 16th century to its recent revival as a nation is like an eddy in the stream of European politics. Vitality in art depends upon the spiritual approach as well as upon plastic expression. The High Renaissance led to æsthetic decadence from an extravagant exploitation of scientific ideals of art, and the triumph of mere representation over imagination. Hereafter we must look for the fruition of Italian motives rather in Northern Europe than in Italy itself.

<sup>1</sup> See *Tiepolo* by Molmenti.

<sup>2</sup> See his influence upon modern decorators, as the Frenchmen Besnard (Hotel de Ville, Paris) and Baudry (L'Opera, Paris).

<sup>3</sup> Mention should be made of GIAN BATTISTA PIRANESI, 1720–1778, the famous imaginative engraver of Roman ruins and other architectural fancies.



## LIST OF BOOKS

THIS list of books is limited to such as are essential to a thorough introduction to the subject. For a complete bibliography *see* the lists given in the special works mentioned. References are made in notes to additional authors, and to stray articles in current periodicals.

The sources of information for dates, localities, names of artists, the identification of pictures and other facts are of unequal value and may be classified as follows:—I. *Primary Sources*; II. *Secondary Sources*; III. *Modern Critical Authorities*.

All these sources must be used in the history of works of art in their identification, their provenance (= original position), their migrations and changes of ownership.

The accuracy of early writers is to be tested by their agreement with each other, and with documents, and by their nearness to the time of the facts or works described.

In addition this evidence must be supplemented by the signatures and dates on paintings themselves, where declared genuine by competent authorities.

### I

#### PRIMARY SOURCES

1. PUBLIC OR PRIVATE DOCUMENTS, as *Contracts, Records of payments, birth, death, burial, Marriage Registers, Inventories, Tax Accounts, and the like, or even Police Reports*, preserved in State, city, and church archives, and
2. UNREGISTERED CONTEMPORARY PAPERS: as (1) *Official or Personal Letters*, (2) *Contemporary or nearly Contemporary Notices of a systematic kind*, as lists of paintings not strictly of a documentary character, and (3) *Contemporary Literary or Historical Notices*, published and unpublished, where the writer gives direct testimony based on personal information or on current report (as some of Vasari's *Lives* or the early commentators on Dante). *E.g.* Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Cennino Cennini the painter, and Ghiberti the sculptor all speak of Giotto. To such sources Vasari owes much.

3. **FACTS REPORTED BY LOCAL ANTIQUARIAN WRITERS** in the course of descriptions of buildings, etc. Much information as to the localities of works of art, and as to lost works, inscriptions, and signatures comes in this way. *E.g.* Richa, *Notizie, etc., delle Chiese Fiorentine, etc.*

These primary sources are in large part published, but many must be studied in Italy from the documents themselves. Some are privately printed and are not found in most Libraries. The best modern authorities cite them. In this book they are referred to only at second hand.

A few Primary Sources only are mentioned.

**ALBERTINI, FRANCESCO DEGLI.** Florentine priest of the early 16th century, who lists works of art at Florence and Rome, as in the Sistine Chapel. One of Vasari's sources.

*Memoriale di molte Statue e Pitture, etc.*, 1510.

The part on Florence, only a few pages, is printed in Italian in the appendix of C. & C.'s German ed., 1869, v. II. pp. 432-46.

The part on Rome is written in Latin, *Franceschi Albertini opusculum de mirabilibus novæ urbis Romæ*, Rome, 1515.

Schmarsow (ed. Heilbronn, 1886) gives notices of the artists of the Sistine chapel. Quoted by Vent., VII, Pt. i. 586 n. 2 f. There is a London edition, 1909.

**THE ANONIMO GADDIANO.** A compilation of lives of artists. Compiled 1542-1556. Ed. by Fabriczy, which see. One of Vasari's important sources.

**THE ANONIMO MEGLIABECCHIANO.** An anonymous MS. of the 16th century, named from its place in the Bib. Naz., Florence. Quotes various early MS. sources, especially the *Book of Billi*, which see, and is thus one of Vasari's chief sources—see under Frey.

**THE ANONIMO OF MORELLI.**

*Notizia d'Opere di Disegno, etc.* Written by an Anonimo of the first half of the 16th c. on works of art he had seen in Padua, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema, and Venice. Pub. with notes (1800) by D. Jacopo Morelli, Custodian of the Library of S. Marco, Venice. English Translation by Williamson, Bell, London.

**BILLI, ANTONIO.** *Libro d'Antonio Billi* (Biblioteca Naz., Florence). A compilation of a lost commentary on lives of artists by an unknown editor (see Anonimo Magliabecchiano) between 1506 and 1540. See under Frey and Fabriczy.

RICHA, GIUSEPPE (Opera di). Antiquarian.

*Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine (divise ne' suoi quartieri)*,  
Firenze, 1754-1762, 10 vols.

RIDOLFI, CARLO, 1602-1658. *Le Maraviglie dell' Arte ovvero le Vite degl' illustri Pittori Veneti dello Stato*, Padua, 1835-1837.

VALLE, G. DELLA. A scholarly priest of the 18th c.

*Lettere Senesi*, Venice, 1782-1786. 3 vols. Discursive work in the form of letters concerning the lives of the Sieneſe, early and late.

### III

#### MODERN CRITICAL AUTHORITIES

The systematic study of the history of Italian art began in the 19th century with the German savant von Rümohr (1785-1843), who was important both as an historian and as a philosophic critic of art.

Modern authorities are of two kinds—1. Those which deal especially with the *historical data* and *external evidences*, documents, etc., and, 2. Those which discuss the art on the basis of *style* and the *internal evidences* for authorship, dates, and the like. These two complementary methods may be combined, but are generally distinguished in practice.

1. The examination of the above primary sources is the foundation of serious art history. The critical use of them requires a trained judgment, belonging to exact historical scholarship, as their interpretation involves a delicate balance of probabilities. Even the beginner should cultivate the habit of examining closely the external evidences on which the facts or opinions set forth by modern critics are based.

2. But the expert comparison and analysis of the art itself is also indispensable. An expert opinion from internal evidence, even when the external evidences have not been completely examined at first hand, may have the weight of high probability, especially when confirmed by an agreement among authorities. At times it may outweigh a document of uncertain validity.

When possible, Vasari should be taken as a point of departure, although he is often inaccurate, because he fairly represents the traditions of his time, is more complete than any other writer, and gives much probably reliable information for which we have no other source.

Historical data should be based in general upon Milanese's notes to Vasari. But the most accurate and up-to-date criticism of the external evidence is to be found in careful monographs on single periods and painters.

The chief authorities for the general field are *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, *Morelli*, and *Berenson*. These aim to cover the whole ground, and are all of recognised competence.

- AUBERT, ANDREAS. *Die malerische Dekoration der San Francesco K. in Assisi, etc.* Leipsic, 1907. Chief modern authority on Cimabue. Admirably illustrated. See review by Fry, *Burl. Mag.*, XII, 171 f.
- BAYET, C. *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 2nd ed., 1894. Somewhat superseded.
- BERENSON, BERNHARD. An able critic, generally recognised as the leading authority on questions of internal evidence.  
*The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*, N.Y. & London, 1898.  
*The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, N.Y. & London, 1909.  
*The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, N.Y. & London, 1909.  
*The North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, N.Y. & London, 1907.  
 These are essays of historical and æsthetic interpretation with full lists of the works of the chief masters. Always consult latest editions.  
*Lorenzo Lotto*, London, 2nd ed., 1895. Authoritative for Lotto and the whole later Vivarini movement.  
*The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, v. I, London, 1901; v. II, London, 1902. Valuable essays.  
*A Sieneze Painter of the Franciscan Legend*. J. M. Dent & Sons, 1909.  
 A very fine and illuminating piece of criticism on Sassetta.  
*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, London, 1903. 2 vols. Exhaustive lists with full discussions, and many facsimile reproductions.  
 The first systematic work on the subject. Indispensable.
- BERTAUX, E. *L'Art dans l'Italie Meridionale*, Paris, 1903. For mediæval art in Southern Italy. Abundant illustrations.
- BLASHFIELD, E. H. & E. W. Uncritical. Valuable for appreciations from the artist's standpoint. See *Vasari*.  
*Italian Cities*, N.Y., 1901. 2 vols. See especially on Raphael and Correggio.
- BODE, WILHELM. Famous Director of the Museum of Berlin. A leading scholar and general connoisseur. Authority on Oriental art and Italian Renaissance sculpture and in special fields of Dutch and Italian painting. Editor of Burchardt's *Cicerone*, which see. See also articles in periodicals.
- BOMBE, WALTER. *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei bis zu Perugino und Pinturicchio*. Berlin, 1912.
- BROWN, G. BALDWIN. *The Fine Arts*, London, Murray. N.Y., 1891. 2nd edition, 1902.

BURCHARDT, JACOB, 1818-1897. Famous Swiss historian of the culture of the Renaissance.

*Der Cicerone*, Leipzig, 1909-1910. A guide to the classic, mediæval, and Renaissance art works in Italy. Pictures outside of Italy not listed. 4 vols. v. III, Painting. Edited by Wilhelm Bode and C. v. Fabriczy. Valuable for its interpretation and compact treatment.

*The Cicerone—An Art Guide to Painting in Italy*. Trans. by Mrs. A. H. Clough, London, 1908.

The original English edition, John Murray, 1873. 1 vol. Sections signed by the various contributors.

CATTANEO, RAFFAELE.

*Architecture in Italy from VI to XI Centuries*. London, 1896. To consult for mediæval styles.

COLASANTI, ARDUINO. A sound Italian critic of the younger school; has specialised in Umbrian art; author of many articles.

*La Basilica di Assisi, Rome*, 1908.

*Gentile da Fabriano*, Collez. di Monographie illustri. Bergamo, 1909.

Review by F. J. Mather, Jr., *Nation*, Aug. 19, 1909, 168-70.

COOK, HERBERT. *Giorgione*, London, 1900. Scholarly monograph; extravagant in acceptance of attributions; should be checked by Berenson.

Various articles on Venetian and N. Italian painters.

COX, KENYON. His essays extremely valuable for artistic criticism and historical intuition. Does not attempt attributions.

*Old Masters and New*, N.Y., 1905.

*Painters and Sculptors*, N.Y., 1907.

*The Classic Point of View*, N.Y., 1911.

CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE. Sig. G. B. Cavalcaselle, Italian connoisseur, and Sir Joseph A. Crowe, his English collaborator, made the first complete and systematic survey of Italian painting.

*History of Painting in Italy*, John Murray, London, 1864. Out of print. Still standard authority. Scholarly in method, with critical insight on internal evidence; a point of departure for subsequent writers, but to be compared in details with more modern criticism.

*Storia della Pittura Italiana*, Florence, 1886-1908. 11 vols, incorporating some revision by Cavalcaselle of the original work.

*A History of Painting in Italy*, ed. by Langton Douglas. Murray, London and N.Y., 1903, incorporating some revision by Crowe of the original work.

*New History of Painting in Italy*, ed. by Edward Hutton, Dent, 1910.

A reprint of the original English edition, with valuable additional

notes, of less personal bias than those of Douglas, and including references to current criticism.

German edition, ed. by Dr. M. Jordan, Leipzig, 1869-1876, 6 vols. *History of Painting in North Italy*. Out of print. Fundamental work on painting in N. Italy.

*History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. by T. Borenius. Murray, London, 1912, 3 vols. New edition of above, brought up to date.

*Raphael, Life and Works*, London, 1882. 2 vols.

CRÜTTWELL, MAUD.

*Andrea Mantegna*, London, 1901. Good scholarly handbook.

*Antonio Pollajuolo*, London & N.Y., 1907. Able monograph, the first careful study on the subject.

*Verrocchio*, London & N.Y., 1904. Valuable monograph. The attributions in some cases disputed.

Handbooks on the Churches, 1908, and Galleries, 1907, of Florence. Dent, London. Excellent for identification of works.

DALTON, O. M.

*Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911. Well illustrated, valuable.

DIEHL, CHARLES. Professor in the University of Paris.

*Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1910. Very valuable manual, summing up the results of recent scholarship, with references to the literature of the subject. Fully illustrated.

DOUGLAS, LANGTON.

*A History of Siena*, London, 1902.

*Fra Angelico*, London, 1902, 2nd ed. See also *Vasari*.

ENLART, C. *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, Paris, 1902-1904. For French mediæval art with relation to Italian. Valuable bibliography.

FABRICZY, CORNEL VON (Cornelio de). Co-editor with Bode of Burchardt's *Cicerone*. Authority on architecture and sculpture.

*Filippo Brunelleschi, sein Leben*, etc. Stuttgart, 1892. Authoritative biography. Contains a study of the anonymous sources, with full quotations from Billi, the Gaddiano, and other original sources, not only on Brunelleschi, but on Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, etc.

*Il Codice dell' Anonimo Gaddiano, ed il Libro di Antonio Billi*, Florence, 1891. Ed. by Fabriczy. See *Anonimo Gaddiano*.

FFOULKES, C. JOCELYN, and MAIOCCHI, R. *Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia*, N.Y. & London, 1909. An exhaustive and trustworthy work.

- FÖRSTER, E., with von Rumohr, represents the earliest critical scholarship before Cavalcaselle.  
*Denkmale Italienischer Malerei*, Leipzig, 1870.
- FRANTZ, EHRICH. *Geschichte der Christlichen Malerei*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1894. Quotes early sources. Scholarly, but not scientifically important. Interesting from the conservative Christian point of view.
- FRATINI, GIUSEPPE. *Storia della Basilica e del Convento di San Francesco in Assisi*, Prato, Guasti, 1882.
- FREEMAN, L. J. *Italian Sculpture of the Renaissance*. Macmillan, New York, 1901. Excellent outline.
- FREY, CARL. Professor of Art in the University of Berlin. An authority on Italian art; a student of sources. An indispensable authority for the advanced student.  
*Die Loggia dei Lanzi zu Florence*, Berlin, 1885. Important notes, with lists of painters.  
*Vita di Lorenzo Ghiberti, con i Commentari di Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Berlin, 1886. The life of Ghiberti by Vasari, including an anonymous life of Ghiberti and other sources from the Magliabecchiano Collection in the National Library of Florence. The best and most critical edition of the subject.  
*Il Libro di Antonio Billi*, Berlin, 1892. Critical edition. See *Billi*.  
*Il Codice Magliabecchiano*, edited with notes, Berlin, 1892. Indispensable to the advanced student.  
*Le Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, etc., da Giorgio Vasari, mit Kritischem, etc.* Pt. I, Bd. I, München, 1911. Up to Nic. Pisano. Other volumes to follow. A splendid monument of scholarship.  
Edition of *Michelangelo's Letters*, with notes, Berlin. Important.
- FRIZZONI, GUSTAVO. Leading authority on Lombardic art. Great connoisseur on North Italian and other art in general, including Leonardo. Friend and follower of Morelli. Editor of Morelli's posthumous vol. III. Author of many articles valuable to experts on galleries of Europe, etc., in *L'Arte, Rass. d'A.*, and others.  
*Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1891. Volume of essays.
- FRY, ROGER. A first-rate guide in special fields. Illuminating critic. Authority in mediæval and early Renaissance art.  
*Gioanni Bellini*, Unicorn Press, London, 1899; Longmans, N.Y., 1901. Out of print.  
Among many interesting articles in *Burl. Mag.*, *Bulletins of the Metrop. Museum of N.Y.*, between 1905-1910, and others, see *Art before Giotto, Monthly Review*, Oct. 1900, pp. 126-151; *Giotto, Monthly Review*, Dec. 1900, pp. 139-157, and Feb. 1901, pp. 96-121.

When written, among the best articles of the time, to be considered in connection with later criticism.

- GOLOUBEV, VICTOR. *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini au Louvre*, Brussels, G. Van Oest & Co., 1908. A scholarly work. The reproductions of drawings are very fine. Part I, British Museum, Brussels, etc., 1912. See p. 174, n. 2.
- GRONAU, GEORG. Director of Cassel Museum. Great German critic, a leading authority on Venetian painting.  
*Titian*, London & N.Y., 1903. Critical and scholarly work.  
*Leonardo*, London and N.Y. Popular but accurate introduction.  
*Raphael* (by Rosenberg) in *Klassiker der Kunst*, Band I, Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1906. Full illustrations. Valuable for the critical notes by Gronau.  
*Kritische Studien zu Giorgione*, in *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, v. 31, 1908.  
*Die Künstlerfamilie Bellini*, monograph in series *Künstler-Monographien*, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1909.  
 Many articles in *L'Arte*, *Rass. d'A.*, etc. See also *Tb.-B. Lexikon*.
- VON HADELN. A leading authority on the Venetian school. Author of various articles. At work upon a book on Venetian painting. See Thieme.
- HERMANIN, F. Director of the Galleria Nazionale (Corsini), Rome. Specialist on late Italian painting (16th-18th c.).
- HEYWOOD, WILLIAM, and OLCOTT, LUCY. *A Guide to Siena*, London, 1903. Little handbook. Reliable for history and art; additional and in part corrective to C. & C.
- HILL, G. F. (of the British Museum). *Pisanello*, London & N.Y., 1905. Close monograph, scholarly.
- HIND, A. M. *Short History of Engraving and Etching*, London & N.Y., 1908. Revised edition, 1911. Valuable.
- HORNE, HERBERT P. Authoritative for documentary research and historical data.  
*Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1908. Exhaustive monograph, thoroughly illustrated.  
*Leonardo da Vinci*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908; notes to Vasari's *Life of Leonardo*. Out of print. An indispensable, small monograph.  
*Commentary upon Vasari's Life of Jacopo dal Casentino*. Extract (in English) of *Riv. d'Arte*, Florence, Aug. 1909, important.  
 A few special articles in *Burl. Mag.*, *Rivista d'A.*, etc.



English Translation of above by Louise M. Richter, London, 1883.  
*Kunstkritische Studien über Italienische Malerei. Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Pamfili in Rom*, Leipzig, 1890.

English Translation of above by Constance J. Ffoulkes, London, 1892.  
 Introduction by Sir H. Layard.

*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, Leipzig, 1891.

English Translation of above by C. J. Ffoulkes, London, 1903.

*Die Galerie zu Berlin*, 1893, incorporating matter from the edition of 1880. Important for discussion of Raphael. Introduction by Frizzone.

The English translations (1892-3) are referred to in this book as vols. I and II. Vol. III is not translated.

MÜNTZ, EUGÈNE. Librarian of the École des Beaux Arts. Authority on the general history and culture of the Renaissance. Uncritical on style. Not authoritative on attributions.

*Raphael, His Life, Works, and Times*, English translation by Walter Armstrong. London, 1862. Somewhat discursive and uncritical, but interesting.

*Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, Paris, 1889-1895, 3 vols.

*Leonardo*, English translation, N.Y. & London, 1898.

*Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1882, 1888, London.

PASSAVANT, JOHANN DAVID. *Raphael d'Urbino et son Père Giovanni Santi*, 2 vols., Paris, 1860 (original edition in German, vols. I and II 1839, vol. III 1858). First critical life.

PERKINS, F. MASON. Authority on Siennese and Umbrian art and on 14th c. art in general. The author of many articles in *Burl. Mag.*, *Rass. d'Arte*, etc., *Vita di Pietro Laurati* (P. Lorenzetti). Pamphlet containing Vasari's life of P. Lorenz., with critical notes by Perkins, Firenze. At present (1914) preparing a *Critical Commentary on the Lives of Vasari*.

PHILLIPS, CLAUDE. Sympathetic, scholarly critic, especially illuminating on the Venetian Renaissance.

*The Earlier Works of Titian*, London & N.Y., 1897. Occasional articles.

POGGI, G. Director of Uffizi, Florence. Excellent archivist. See *Riv. d'A.*

REINACH, SALOMON. Not a specialist in Italian art.

*Story of Art throughout the Ages*, London & N.Y., 1904. *Apollo*, London & N.Y., 1907, another edition of above. A popular outline, suggestive in regard to larger relations of style. Students should be warned against hasty generalisations. Excellent bibliographies.

- RICCI, CORRADO.** Director-General of Fine Arts and Antiquities of Italy. Formerly, in succession, Director of the Gallery of Parma, of the Brera, Milan, of the Uffizi and Pitti. An important administrator and interesting critic.  
*Art in Northern Italy*, N.Y., Scribners, London, and elsewhere, 1911. Valuable outline.  
*Correggio*, London & N.Y., 1896.  
*Pintoricchio*, Perugia, 1912, English translation, London, 1912. Excellent monographs.  
*Melozzo da Forlì*, Rome, 1911. Well illustrated.  
*Michelangelo*, Florence, 1900. Clear outline.  
 Editor of *Serie Italia Artistica*, monographs on Italian cities, etc. Important for profuse illustrations. Text of unequal value.
- RICHTER, J. P.** Important connoisseur and scholar.  
*Italian Art in the National Gallery*, London, 1883.  
*The Mond Collection*, an appreciation, 2 vols., 1910.  
 Vol. VIII of *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte u. Kunsttechnik d. Mittelalt. u. der Neuzeit—Quellen der byzantinische Kunstgeschichte; ausgewählte Texte . . .* Wien, C. Graeser, 1897.  
*Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1883. Fine illustrations. Indispensable.  
*The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (by J. P. Richter and A. Cameron Taylor), London, Duckworth, 1904. Important. Illustrations in colour.
- RIVOIRA, G. T.** Authority on early architecture. *Le Origioni della Architettura Lombarda*, 2 vols. Vol. I, Rome, 1901. Byzantine, Medieval Italian styles. Theories disputed. 2nd edition enlarged, Milan, 1908. English Translation, 1910.
- ROSSI, GIOVANNI B. DE.** Famous archæologist, for early Christian period.  
*Roma Sotterranea*, Rome, 1864–1877. Also German and English eds.  
*Mosaici Cristiani e Saggi dei Pavimenti delle Chiese di Roma*, etc., Rome, 1899. Coloured reproductions.
- RUMOHR, C. F. VON**, 1785–1843. A German scholar of the early 19th c. One of the earliest distinctly modern critics. Very important historically.  
*Italienische Forschungen*, Berlin & Stettin, 1827–1831. 3 vols. In part superseded.
- RUSHFORTH, G. McNEIL.** *Carlo Crivelli*, London, 1900. Reliable guide.
- RUSKIN, JOHN.** To whom English readers owe more in a general awakening of art appreciation than to any other one writer. Often of profound critical intuition, but unreliable in attributions and

- occasionally extravagant and prejudiced in his views. There are many editions.
- Works of Ruskin*, complete Library Edition. Ed. by E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, London, 1903-1912. 39 vols. References to this edition.
- VON SCHLOSSER, JULIUS. Distinguished scholar.
- Lorenzo Ghiberti's Denkwürdigkeiten*, Berlin, 1912, 2 vols. The first complete printed edition of Ghiberti's commentaries. Critical notes of great value. Indispensable to every library. Also various articles.
- See also under Kallab.
- SCHMARSOW, A. Professor of Art, Leipzig University.
- Melozzo da Forlì*, Berlin, 1886.
- Masaccio, Studien*, Cassel, 1895-1900. Discussion (not final) of Masolino-Masaccio question. Important for detail and history.
- SCHNASSE, KARL. A great German art historian of the early 19th c.
- Geschichte der bildenden Kunst*, Düsseldorf, 2nd ed., 1866-1879. A standard work for its time. Superseded.
- SEIDLITZ, W. VON. Excellent German critic.
- Leonardo da Vinci*, Berlin, 1909, 2 vols. Admirable for broad view of subject.
- SELYATICO, P. *Francesco Squarcione*, Padua, 1839.
- SIRÉN, OSWALD. An authority on Giotto and the 14th c. Theories and attributions interesting, but in many cases open to question.
- Giottino*, Leipzig, 1908. Includes important studies of Giottino's contemporaries (Orcagna, etc.).
- Giotto*, pub. in Swedish, Stockholm, 1908. Limited edition of 339 copies. Includes a discussion of the immediate school. See review by W. M., *Burl. Mag.*, v. XIV, pp. 109-10, on Sirén's *Giotto*.
- Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strassburg, 1905. Discusses also works of Lorenzo's followers.
- Articles in *Rass. d'A.*, *L'Arte*, *Burl. Mag.*, and others.
- SOLMI, E., *Leonardo*, Florence (Barbera), 1900. The best detailed biography on Leonardo. Of no authority in connoisseurship.
- SPRINGER, A. H. *Raphael und Michelangelo*, Leipzig, 3rd ed., 1895. Sound and good.
- STRZYGOWSKI, JOSEF. *Cimabue und Rom*, Vienna, 1888. Close analysis of Vasari's sources and of early authorities. Conclusion contested.
- SUIDA, WILHELM. Austrian critic. An authority on the trecentisti. Conclusions sometimes questioned.

- Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV Jahrhunderts.* Strassburg, 1905.  
Various articles.
- TESTI, LAUDEDEO. Important modern authority on Venetian and North Italian art.  
*La Storia della Pittura veneziano*, v. I, Bergamo, 1909 (vol. II about to appear, 1913). Including a brief discussion of Mediæval Art. Authoritative, scholarly, and complete. Copiously illustrated.
- THIEME, U. Editor of *Thieme-Becker Lexikon*.  
*Thieme-Becker Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Seeman, Leipzig. In progress, 7 vols. (through letter C) already issued (1913), 38 marks a vol. Very comprehensive and important work of reference, with articles by leading German and certain foreign critics. Indispensable in any modern library of art. Many articles are authoritative and supersede all foregoing studies on the same subjects, as: *Fra Angelico* by Supino, *Ant. da Messina* by L. Venturi, *Jacopo Gentile and Giovanni Bellini* by Gronau, *Bonifazio* by von Hadeln, *Borgognone* by Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Paolo Caliari* (Veronese) and *Cariani* by von Hadeln, *Cimabue* by Wackernagel, very useful to the student.
- THODE, HENRY. Professor of Art, Ruhestade. Professor of Art, University of Heidelberg, 1894-1911. Well-known scholar and critic. Prolific writer. Attributions should be accepted with reservations.  
*Giotto*, *Kunstler-Monographien*, No. 43, ed. Knackfuss. Leipzig, Bielefeld, 1899.  
*Franz von Assisi*, Berlin, 1885 and 1904. With full discussion of church.  
*Michelangelo. Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, 1908, 2 vols.  
*Michelangelo und das Ende der Renaissance*, 1903-1911, 3 vols.  
Various articles on Cimabue, Campo Santo at Pisa, etc., in different periodicals.
- TOESCA, PIETRO.  
*Masolino da Panicale*, Bergamo, 1908. Valuable monograph with illustrations.  
*La Pittura e la Miniatura nella Lombardia*, Milan, Hoepli, 1912.
- VENTURI, ADOLFO. Professor of Art in the University of Rome. Incredibly prolific writer, and genial critic. Foremost authority on Ferrarese and Modenese painting. The first to print the modern reconstruction of Giotto.  
*Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, Milan, 1901 *seq.*, v. I, Roman and Early Christian; v. II, Early Mediæval; v. III, Later Mediæval; v. IV, 13th and 14th c. Sculpture; v. V, 13th and 14th c. Painting; v. VI, Quattrocento Sculpture; v. VII, Pts. 1 and 2, Painting, up to

- Raphael. Well illustrated. General survey of the history of Italian art, admirably arranged and scholarly, with references to recent critical literature. Valuable also for interpretation, but shows unequal grasp of different schools. Independent but not authoritative on internal evidence. Attributions and conclusions should be tested by other critics. Very useful to mature students, but to be used with caution by beginners.
- Gentile da Fabriano ed il Pisanello*, Florence, 1896. Commentary to Vasari's Lives of these men.
- La Basilica di Assisi*.
- VENTURI, LIONELLO, son of Adolfo Venturi. Fine in general appreciations.
- Le Origini della Pittura Veneziana, 1300-1500*, Venice, 1907. The most convenient modern introduction to Venetian art. Chronological and biographical data are clearly summarised.
- Giorgione ed il Giorgionismo*, Milan, 1913. Aesthetically and otherwise the most important work on the subject up to date. Fine appreciations. Attributions on the whole trustworthy.
- WEIGELT, CURT H. *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Leipzig, 1911. German. Exceedingly important monograph on Duccio and the art of his time.
- WEISBACH, W. *Francesco Pesellino*, Berlin, 1901. Important.
- WILPERT, JOS. (1857- ). Archæologist of great repute, who continues the work of Rossi.
- Roma Sotterranea. Le Pitture delle Catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, 2 vols.
- WITTING, F. *Piero dei Franceschi*, Strassburg, 1898.
- WOELFFLIN, H. Important and illuminating critic of general styles from the comparative point of view.
- Die Klassische Kunst*, Munich, 1901. Most important.
- The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, English edition of above, London, 1903.
- WOLTMANN, ALFRED, and WOERMANN, KARL. Dr. Woltmann: Professor University of Strassburg, d. 1880. Woermann: Formerly Director of the Dresden Gallery, one of the first writers of a scientific catalogue. Catalogues Dresden and Weber Gallery, Hamburg.
- History of Painting*, London & N.Y., 1888, 2 vols. v. I, ed. by Sidney Colvin, M.A. A scholarly survey of European painting through the High Renaissance. Italian schools not treated in detail. Somewhat superseded. Still useful for earlier sources.
- ZIMMERMANN, MAX G. *Giotto und die Kunst Italiens in Mittel-*

*alter*, v. I, Leipzig, 1899 (v. II not issued, 1913). Authoritative on mediæval art. To be used with caution in respect to attributions in the 13th c. Conclusions open to dispute.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Abbreviations often used are placed in brackets.

- American Journal of Archaeology*. Series I, 1885-1896, vols. I-XI; Series II, vol. I, 1897, etc. Articles generally in the classical field, but there are occasional special investigations in the field of painting. (*Am. Jour. Arch.*)
- L'Archivio Storico dell'Arte Italiano*, 1888-1898 (see *L'Arte*). Some of the most important documents will be found published in special articles here. (*Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*.)
- L'Arte*. A more popular continuation of above, from 1898.
- Bollettino d'Arte* del Ministero della P. Istruzione, Rome, from 1907. Official Italian Museum publication. Monthly. (*Boll. d'A.*)
- Burlington Magazine*, London, from 1902. Monthly. (*Burl. Mag.*)
- Le Gallerie Nazionali*, etc. See Hermanin. (*Le Gallerie naz. ital.*)
- Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Paris, from 1859. Occasional articles. (*Gaz. d. B. Arts.*)
- Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin. Complete annual Bibliography for 1902-1906. (*Int. Bib. d. K.*)
- Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, from 1883. Official Austrian Museum publication. (*Aus. Jahrb.*)
- Jahrbuch der König. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, from 1880. Ed. by W. Bode. Prussian official Museum publication, often important articles. (*Jahrb. d. K. Pr.*)
- Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig. Occasional articles on Italian painting.
- Rassegna d'Arte*, Milano, Bassani, from 1901. (*Rass. d'A.*)
- Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, Siena. Little known, but important. Valuable articles on Siennese schools.
- Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, from 1876. Containing valuable articles. (*Rep. f. Kunst.*)
- (*La*) *Revue de l'Art*, from 1897. (*Rev. de l'Art.*)
- Rivista d'Arte*, diretta da G. Poggi. Pub. Olschki, Florence, from 1904. Bi-monthly. Official Florentine Museum publication. (*Riv. d'A.*)
- Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Berlin. Modern art in the main, but containing interesting contributions on earlier painting and sculpture. (*Zeits. f. Bild. K.*)

An important source of information is found in the handbooks and catalogues of public and private galleries, which tend more and more to be exact and critical in regard to the objects exhibited. Also those for special loan exhibitions. The Bulletins of various American Museums, as those of New York, Boston, and Worcester, contain the publication of originals and often articles of value for original research or interpretative criticism.

The valuable publication of important pictures in American private collections by La Farge and Jaccaci, N.Y., now in process of publication, should be noted.

*A Few Books recommended for Supplementary  
Reading*

HISTORY

- Borgia, Lucretia.* Gregorovius, F., London & N.Y., 1903, 1904. Good.
- Communes, Lombard.* W. F. T. Butler. London, 1906. Good.
- Condottieri, The Age of the.* O. Browning. London, 1895. Good.
- Dante, Introduction to the Study of.* J. Addington Symonds. London, 1872. Good.
- Dante, Translation of.* Charles Eliot Norton. 1891.
- Dante, Translation of.* T. W. Parsons. 1893. Sympathetic, not so close a translation as Norton's. Lacks the *Paradiso*.
- Florence.* F. A. Hyett. London, 1903. Good.
- Florence, History of.* N. Machiavelli. Cambridge, England, 1902.
- Guelphs and Ghibellines.* O. Browning. London, 1893. Good.
- Italian Republics, History of the.* J. C. L. de Sismondi. London, 1906-1907. Of high value.
- Abridgment of above. J. C. L. de Sismondi. 1 vol. Very good.
- Italy and Her Invaders.* T. Hodgkin. Oxford, 1892-1899.
- Italy, Short History of, from 476-1900.* H. D. Sedgwick. London, 1906. Good general view.
- Italy, Sketches and Studies in—The Medici, Canossa, Colleone.* J. A. Symonds. London, 1898.
- Machiavelli, Life and Times of.* P. Villari. London, 1892. Standard.
- Medici, Cosimo di.* K. D. Ewart. 1896. Authoritative.
- Medici, Lorenzo di, and Florence in the 15th c.* E. Armstrong. 1890. Good.

- Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent.* Horsburgh, E. L. S. London, 1908. Good.
- Medici, The, and the Italian Renaissance.* W. H. O. Smeaton. London, 1900. Authoritative.
- Michel Angelo, Life of.* J. A. Symonds. London, 1892-1893.
- Middle Ages, Close of the.* R. Lodge. 1893. Résumé of the history of the period. Scholarly little book.
- Milan under the Sforza, History of.* C. M. Ady (Julia Cartwright). 1907. Good.
- Popes, Lives of the.* M. Creighton. Renaissance Popes. Very good.
- Popes, The Medici.* M. Herbert Vaughan. London, 1908. Contains excellent account of sack of Rome.
- Petrarch and His Times.* H. C. Hollway-Calthorp. London, 1907. Very good.
- Petrarch, a Selection from His Letters.* Robinson and Rolfe, 1898. Very good.
- Renaissance in Italy, Civilisation of the.* J. Burckhardt. London, 1890. Scholarly.
- Renaissance, History of the.* J. A. Symonds. London, 1875-1886. 7 vols.
- Renaissance, Short History of the.* J. A. Symonds. London, 1893. Digest of above. A good background.
- Rome in the Middle Ages.* F. Gregorovius. London, 1894. Important.
- Savonarola, Life and Times of.* P. Villari. London, 1888. The best Life.
- Siena.* R. L. Douglas. London, 1902. Excellent for history.
- Venice.* Horatio Brown. London, 1893. Good.
- Vittoria Colonna and Her Friends.* M. F. Jerrold. London, 1906.

## LIFE AND CUSTOMS

## MEDIÆVAL AND RENAISSANCE

- The Courtier.* Baldassare Castiglione. Hoby Trans. Good. London, 1902.
- Cellini, Life of Benvenuto.* Symonds' Trans. Good. London, 1888.
- FERRARA.
- Dukes and Poets of Ferrara.* Edmund Gardner. London, 1904. Good
- King of Court Poets (Ariosto).* Edmund Gardner. London, 1906. Court life of Ferrara and times. Later period than above.
- Isabella d'Este.* Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady). Good picture of Renaissance court life.



## FLORENCE.

*Florence, Men and Manners of Old.* G. Biagi. London, 1909. Good.  
*Florentine Palaces.* Janet A. Ross. London, 1905. Good description  
of palaces and families.

*Romola.* George Eliot. In general, correct in fact and detail.

## MILAN.

*Beatrice d'Este.* Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady). A good picture of the  
ducal court of Milan.

## SIENA.

W. Heywood's Books on Siena. London, 1899 to 1903. Slight but  
reliable.

## URBINO.

*Dukes of Urbino.* J. Dennistoun. London, 1851. Heavy but inter-  
esting. New edition ed. by Edward Hutton. John Lane, 1909.

*Malatesta, Sigismondo Pandolfo: Lord of Rimini. A Study of a 15th c.  
Despot.* Edward Hutton. London, 1906. Reliable picture. A basis  
of fact interwoven with ingenious fiction. Good.

## ADDENDA

BURCKHARDT, RUDOLF. *Cima da Conegliano.* Leipzig, 1905.

GRONAU, GEORG. *Correggio*, in *Klassiker der Kunst.* Stuttgart u.  
Leipzig, 1907.

GRONAU, GEORG. *Aus Raphaels Florentiner Tagen.* B. Cassirer,  
Berlin, 1902. A valuable book on Raphael's early drawings.

A complete and authoritative publication of all existing drawings  
by Raphael is being edited by Dr. Fischel. It will be the standard  
work on the subject. Vol. I., G. Grote, Berlin, 1913.

KNAPP, FRITZ. *Piero di Cosimo.* Halle a. S., 1899.

OPFF, ADOLPH P. *Raphael.* London, 1909.

# INDEX TO ARTISTS AND PAINTINGS MENTIONED

## WITH CERTAIN ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

*Note.*—For sufficiently complete lists see those of Mr. Berenson (latest editions), which we place first for their combination of care, reliability, and accessibility to English readers, and those of Bode in the *Cicerone* (German) and of the other authorities mentioned.

When authorities conflict, our own opinion is given only where it seems necessary to offer a working hypothesis. Matters in controversy seldom affect the main issues, and minor controversies are not in general referred to.

A number of American examples have been added as available and interesting to American students.

The figures in heavy type indicate the page where the subject referred to is treated at some length.

**Altichieri, Altichiero.** Of Verona, c. 1330-1395.

PADUA. SANTO, S. FELICE CHAPEL: Frescoes. CHAPEL OF S. GIORGIO, near the Santo: *Calvary, S. George*, frescoes, begun 1377. VERONA. S. ANASTASIA: *Knights of the Cavalli Family Presented to Enthroned Virgin by their Patron Saints*, after 1490. S. FERMO: *Calvary?* Ascribed to Turone by C. and C. 76, 78, 175 and n. 3, 182.

**Alunno.** See Niccolo da Foligno.

"Alunno di Domenico" (Bartolommeo di Giovanni). Florentine, —?-1494. Follower of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

CARPI. SIGNOR PIETRO FORESTI: *Madonna, two SS., and Donors*, signed 1486 (Vent., see p. 138 n. 2). FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *S. Jerome*, attrib. by B. B. PARIS. M. JOSEPH SPIRIDON: *Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, 1483. ROME. COLONNA: *Rape of the Sabine Women, Romans and Sabines*. 138.

**Albertinelli, Mariotto.** Florentine, 1474-1515.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Annunciation*, 1510. UFFIZI: *Visitation*. MILAN. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Triptych*, 1500. PARIS: *Madonna and SS.*

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[begun by Filippino (S. *Jerome*), Albertinelli assisted by Bugiardini (B.B.)]. VOLTERRA. DUOMO: *Annunciation*. 229, 232, 252, n. 2.

**Alfani, The:** Domenico. Paris; Orazio. Umbrian, late followers of Perugino and Raphael.

Pictures by the Alfani in the Gallery of Perugia. UFFIZI: *Madonna*. 161.

**Ambrogio da Predis.** Milanese, assistant of Leonardo da Vinci, active 1482-1506.

GLASGOW. BEATTIE COLLECTION: *Francesco Sforza as a Child* (Loser). LONDON: *Virgin of the Rocks*, copy of Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks* in Paris. MILAN. AMBROSIANA: *Musician*. VIENNA: *Emperor Maximilian*, signed, 1502. 218, 219, 226, 227, and n. 3.

"Amico di Sandro." Florentine, close follower of Botticelli. Portraits so like Botticelli's as to pass for his.

BERGAMO. MORELLI COLLECTION: *Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici*. CHANTILLY: *Story of Esther*, characteristic and exceptionally interesting work. FLORENCE. PITTI: *Death of Lucretia*. LONDON: *Adoration of the Magi*, attrib. to Filippino. PARIS: *Portrait of Young Man*. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Portrait of Man*, reprod. Perkins, *Rass. & A.*, Aug. 1905. 134.

**Andrea di Bartolo.** Siennese, follower of Bartolo di Fredi. Latter part of 14th c.

CHICAGO. YERKES COLLECTION, now dispersed: *Assumption* (signed).

**Andrea da Bologna.** Late 14th c. 55.

**Andrea del Castagno.** Florentine, 1396?-1457.

FLORENCE. DUOMO, ENTRANCE WALL, above: *Equestrian Portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino*, fresco. S. APOLLONIA: *Last Supper and single figures*. UFFIZI: *Crucifixion*, fresco. LONDON: *Crucifixion*. VENICE. MOSCOLI CHAPEL: *Mosaic*, design in part? 81, n. 2, 112-113, 117, 129, 130, 140, 146, 219.

**Andrea di Cione.** See Orcagna.

**Andrea of Ferrara.** Ferrarese, transitional. Early 15th c. ? 199, n. 4.

**Andrea da Firenze (Buonaiuto).** Florentine with Siennese training. 2nd half of 14th c.

BERLIN. BECKERATH COLLECTION: *Magdalen* (Siren). FLOR- ENCE. SPANISH CHAPEL: *Frescoes* on the four walls (?); L. *Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas*; FACING ENTRANCE: *Procession to Calvary, Crucifixion, Descent into Hades*; R. *Church Militant and Triumphant*; EN-

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TRANCE WALL: *Life of S. Peter Martyr*. PISA. CAMPO SANTO: *The Earlier Frescoes in the Life of S. Ranieri series*. 35 and n. 3, 68 n. 3, 70.

Andrea di Giusto. Florentine, follower of Lippi. List of attributed pictures in Weisbach, *Pesellino*. 122.

Andrea da Lecce. See p. 90, n. 1.

Andrea di Niccolo, Siense, 1460-1529.

SIENA: Examples. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Four SS*.

Andrea del Sarto. Florentine, 1486-1531.

FLORENCE. SS. ANNUNZIATA: Several examples. LARGE CLOISTER OVER ENTRANCE TO CHURCH: *Madonna del Sacco*, fresco. PITTI: *Story of Joseph*. S. SALVI: *Cenacolo*. UFFIZI: *Portrait of the Artist; Portrait of the Artist's Wife?*; *Study of Hands*, drawing. LONDON: *Portrait of a Sculptor*. PARIS: *Charity; Study of Dogs*, drawing. 134, 138, 229-31.

Angelico, Fra (Fra Giovanni da Fiesole: Guido di Pietro, "Il Beato Angelico"). Florentine, 1387-1455.

CORTONA. GESU: *Annunciation*, two *Predelle*, E. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Altarpiece*, 1433. S. MARCO: *Frescoes in cells*, *Panel Pictures*. MADRID. PRADO: *Annunciation*. Inspiration of first period, but the artist's personality is merged in an ideal which tends to suppress individuality. Cf. *Annunciations*, Cortona and Monte Carlo. MONTE CARLO. UPPER VAL D'ARNO: *Annunciation*, E. ORVIETO. DUOMO, CAPPELLA NUOVA: Two compartments of ceiling of Apse, *Frescoes*. PERUGIA: *Altarpiece*, painted for S. Domenico, probably before 1418. ROME. VATICAN, CHAPEL OF NICHOLAS V: *Frescoes*. 69, 87, 110-12, 116, 119 n. 2, 120, 122, 123 and n. 2, 142, 144, 148, 153, 204.

Angelo, Michel. See Buonarroti.

Anguissola, Sofonisba, 1528-1625.

NAPLES: *Portrait of the Artist*. ROME. DORIA: *Lady and Gentleman*. 308.

Anselmi. Of Lucca. Pupil of Sodoma, assistant to Correggio. 303.

Ansuino da Forli. Paduan, assistant of Squarcione.

PADUA. EREMITANI: *Frescoes, S. Christopher Preaching and Others*. 179 n. 1, 183.

Antonello da Messina, c. 1430-c. 1479. Began under unknown Flemish influences, influenced by the Vivarini and Bellini.

ANTWERP: *Calvary*, 1475. BERGAMO, LOCHIS: *S. Sebastian*, important. DRESDEN: *S. Sebastian*, influence of Mantegna or Alwise

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**Barbari.** *See* Jacopo di.

**Barna (or Berna).** Sienese, active c. 1369-1380.

LONDON. BENSON COLLECTION: *Christ bearing the Cross?* (*See* C. & C., Hutton, ii. 68 n. 1.) S. GEMIGNANO. COLLEGIATE CHURCH: *Life of Christ, etc.*, frescoes. 26, 36.

**Barnaba of Modena.** North Italian, provincial, Giottesque, half Sienese in training, active 1377-1383.

BERLIN: *Madonna*. FRANKFORT: *Madonna*. LONDON: Panel with *Trinity, Coronation, Crucifixion, Virgin and Child, etc.* *See* art. by C. Ricci, *Burl. Mag.*, v. XXIV, Nov. 1913, p. 65. MODENA: *Madonna with SS. John Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria, Angels, Crucifixion and Magdalen*, signed. TURIN: *Madonna*. 20 n. 1, 72, 82, 89.

**Baroccio, Federigo.** Of Urbino, 1528-1612.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Noli me Tangere*. PERUGIA. DUOMO: *Descent from the Cross*. 314.

**Bartoldo.** Sculptor, assistant of Donatello. Taught Michelangelo. 234-5.

**Bartolo, Domenico di.** *See* Domenico.

**Bartolo di Maestro Fredi.** Sienese, c. 1330-1410.

NEW HAVEN, U.S.A. JARVES COLLECTION: *Assumption* (B.B.). *See* also Tomé. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Dead Christ and SS.*, predella. S. GEMIGNANO. COLLEGIATA: *Frescoes, Old Testament Subjects*, much repainted. SIENA: *Virgin and Child, SS. and Angels*, Polyptych, wrongly ascribed to Memmi; *Various Works*. 36-7, 38, 39, 85 n. 2.

**Bartolo, Taddeo di.** *See* Taddeo.

**Bartolommeo, Fra (Baccio della Porta).** Florentine, 1475-1517.

FLORENCE. PITTI: *Holy Family; Deposition*. S. MARCO: *Madonna*. UFFIZI: *Last Judgment*, fresco. PARIS: *Noli me tangere*. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden*. 225, 229, 231-2, 247, 251, 252, 257.

**Bartolommeo della Gatta** (true name Piero d'Antonio Dei). School of Signorelli, 1448-1491?

CASTIGLIONE FIORENTINO. COLLEGIATA: *Madonna, etc.*, derivation from Signorelli? AREZZO. DUOMO, SACRISTY: *Fresco*. MUSEO: Two scenes from *Life of S. Roch*. CORTONA. S. DOMENICO: *Assumption*, influence of Dom. Veneziano. 145-6, 147.

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**Bartolommeo di Giovanni.** See Alunno di Domenico, so called.

**Bartolommeo Veneto.** Venetian, active 1495-1555.

BERGAMO. LOCHIS GALLERY: *Madonna*. DRESDEN: *Salome*. FRANKFURT: *The Courtesan* (or *The Jeweller's Daughter*). MILAN. MELZI COLLECTION: *The Jewess*. ROME. CORSINI: *Portrait of a Young Man*. 194-5.

**Basaiti, Marco.** Venetian, c. 1470-1527.

LONDON: *Madonna*, attrib. to Giovanni Bellini. MUNICH: *Pietà* (attrib.), influence of Antonello da Messina. VENICE: *Christ in the Garden* (formerly in S. Giobbe); *Calling of the Children of Zebedee*, 1510. CORNER: *Madonna and Donor*. VIENNA: *Calling of the Children of Zebedee*, 1515. 170 n. 1, 192 n. 3, 195-6, 290.

**Bassani, The.** 185, 293.

**Bassano, Francesco, the Elder** (family of the Da Ponte). From Bassano. Venetian, 1470?-1540, follower of Montagna? 293.

**Bassano, Francesco, the Younger**, son of Jacopo Bassano, 1548-1591. 294.

**Bassano, Jacopo** (family of the Da Ponte). From Bassano, Venetian, 1510-1592.

BASSANO: *Flight into Egypt*; *Adoration of the Shepherds*; many other works. EDINBURGH: *Adoration of the Magi*, shows relation to Bonifazio. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Feast of Dives*. LONDON. HAMPTON COURT: *Head of Old Man*; *Male Portrait*; *Boaz and Ruth*; *Christ in the House of the Pharisee*; other subjects. MILAN. AMBROSIANA: *Adoration of the Shepherds*, E. ROME. VILLA BORGHESE: *Last Supper*. VIENNA: *Portrait of a Senator*; other subjects. 289, 293-4.

**Bassano, Leandro**, son of Jacopo Bassano. Venetian, 1558-1623.

DRESDEN: *Male Portrait*. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Portrait of Himself*. ROME. CAPITOL: *Christ in the House of the Pharisee*; and others. VENICE: *Portrait of the Doge Memmo*. DOGE'S PALACE, ANTICOLLEGIO: *Jacob's Return to Canaan*. S. CASSIANO: *Two Scenes from the Life of the Virgin, with Portraits*. 294.

**Bastiani, Lazzaro.** Venetian, c. 1425-1512.

LONDON: *The Doge Mocenigo worshipping the Virgin*, c. 1480, also attrib. to Gentile Bellini and to Carpaccio. VENICE: *S. Antony of Padua*; *Miracle of the Holy Cross*. REDENTORE: *Madonna*. VERONA: *Madonna*. VIENNA: *S. Veneranda in Glory*, signed. 186, 187 and n., 188, 194.

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**Baudry.** 181, 259.

**Beccafumi, Domenico.** Sienese, 1485-1551.

LUCCA: *Continnence of Scipio*. SIENA. ORATORIO DI SAN BERNARDINO: *Madonna Enthroned with Six SS.* SAN MARTINO: *Nativity*. 259, 313.

**Beccaruzzi, Francesco.** Of Cornegliano, Venetian, active 2nd and 3rd quarter 16th c.

BERGAMO. LOCHIS: *Portrait of a Young Woman*, signed. ROME. COLONNA: *A Cavalier*. TREVISO. S. LUCIA: *S. Lucia*. MONTE DI PIETA: *Dead Christ*. VENICE: *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata; Deposition*. S. MARIA DEL ORTO: *SS. Lawrence, Helen, Gregory, Domenic, and Lorenzo Giustiniani*. VIENNA: *Portrait of a Lady*, called a copy of Paris Bordone. 293.

**Bellini, The.** 97, 170, 183, 184, 186, 193, 196, 198, 204, 263, 285, 290.

**Bellini, Gentile.** Venetian, 1429-1507.

BERLIN: *Madonna, with Male and Female Donors*, E., important, recalls Jac. Bellini and early Madonnas of Giov. Bellini (? B. B., accepted by Gronau). BUDA-PESTH: *Portrait of Catherine Cornaro*. LONDON: *S. Peter Martyr*, mature style; *Head of a Monk*, mature style. MOND COLLECTION: *Madonna Enthroned*. VENICE: *The Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani*, 1465; *Corpus Christi Procession*, 1496; *Miracle of the True Cross*, 1500. S. MARCO, FABBRICERIA: *SS. Theodore and Mark; SS. Jerome and Francis* (organ shutters), E. MUS. CIV.: *Portrait of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. LAYARD COLLECTION: *Portrait of Sultan Mahomet*, 1480; *Adoration of Magi*, after 1480, important. MILAN and VENICE: Ceremonial and decorative pictures. 98, 169, 173, 174 and n. 1, 176, 184-5, 186 n. 2, 187, 188 and n. 2, 189 and n. 1, 194, 195, 270, 286.

**Bellini, Giovanni** (Giambellino). Venetian, 1430 ?-1516.

ALNWICK CASTLE (England): *The Bacchanals*, unfinished, important for subject, cf. with Mantegna. BERGAMO. MORELLI COLLECTION: *Madonna with the Pear*, 1480-1490, typical of emancipation from Paduan asceticism. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Madonna and Child* (Perkins, *Burl. Mag.*). FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Allegory*, c. 1485-1486. LONDON: *Agony in Garden*, c. 1459 ?; *Portrait of Doge Loredano*, c. 1500. MILAN: *Pietà*, still Paduan, but broader; *Madonna with Greek Inscription*. FRIZZONI COLLECTION: *Madonna*, realistic. NAPLES: *Transfiguration*, probably before 1480. NEWPORT, R.I. DAVIS COLLECTION: *Madonna and Child*, E. PESARO, S. FRANCESCO: *Coronation of the Virgin with SS.*, and *Pre-*

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*della*, shortly after 1481. Small pictures of frame suggest Titian, beautiful. VENICE: *Allegories* (in one frame), humanistic without classic form, cf. with *Allegory*, Florence; *Madonna and SS.* (formerly in S. Giobbe), c. 1486-1487?, important for tone and grouping; *Madonna between SS. Paul and George*, 1487. DUCAL PALACE: *Pietà*, E. Mus. CIV.: *Crucifixion*, E.; *Dead Christ supported by two Putti*, E., forged monogram of Durer, Squarcionesque, immature but vivid; *Transfiguration*, E., extreme Paduan harshness, Mantegna's influence. FRARI: *Madonna with SS.*, 1488. S. GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO: *SS. Jerome, Augustine, and Christopher*, 1513, latest finished work. S. ZACCARIA: *Madonna and SS.*, altarpiece, 1505. 91, 102, 159, 173, 174 n. 1, 176, 183, 184, 187, 188-92, 193, 194, 195, 197, 201 n. 2, 202 n. 1, 205, 263, 265, 267 n. 2, 270, 271, 275, 276, 291.

**Bellini, Giovanni**, School of. 196 and n. 1.

**Bellini, Jacopo** (Jacopo di Niccolo Bellini). Active 1430-1470. Pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, influenced by Pisanello.

BRESCIA. S. ALESSANDRO: *Annunciation with five Predelle*, interesting, formerly given to Fra Angelico. For discussion see L. Vent., 127 f., similarity to Jacopo, see *Madonna*, Lovere, angel German in feeling, Predella by different assistants. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna and Child* (Ricci), freer than Bartolommeo Vivarini (illus. L. Vent., 125). LOVERE (Province of Bergamo). TADINI GALLERY: *Madonna and Child*, gives promise of Giovanni Bellini. LONDON. BRITISH MUSEUM: *Sketch Book*. PADUA: *Descent into Limbo*. PARIS: *Sketch Book*. VENICE: *Madonna and Child*, very early, G. da Fabriano's influence scarcely felt. Mus. CIV.: *Crucifixion*. VERONA: *Christ on the Cross*, does not yet indicate science of Mantegna and Donatello, may have influenced Antonello da Messina.

*The Calvary*, 1436, once in the Arch-episcopal Palace, Verona, now lost. Probable copy (reprod. C. & C., *N. It.*, I, 110, and in Biadego, *Verona*), indicates vivid life and powerful design, may have influenced Antonello da Messina.

Other works seem probably by Jacopo. See G. Cagnola, *Rass. d'A.*, March 1904, Testi, Gronau. 80 n. 6, 87, 92, 93 n. 4, 94, 103 n. 1, 173-6, 177, 182, 184, 185, 188 n. 2, 189, 190 and n. 1, 205 and n. 3.

**Bellotto, Bernardo**. Venetian, 1720-1780.

DRESDEN: Many *Works*. ROME. CORSINI: *Piazzetta at Venice*. TURIN: *Views of Turin*. 315.

**Benaglio, Francesco**. Of Verona, Paduan School, second half 15th c. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna* (B.B.), Squar-



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cionesque, approaches the youthful Giovanni Bellini. VERONA: *Madonna with Little Angels*. 198.

**Benvenuti, Gian Battista** (Ortolano). Ferrarese, 16th c.

LONDON: *SS. Sebastian, Roch, and Demetrius*. ROME. BORGHESE: *Pietà*. 306, and n. 1.

**Benvenuto di Giovanni**. Siense, 1436-1518 ?

BERLIN. VON KAUFFMANN COLLECTION: *S. Giovanni Gualberto before the Crucifix* (Perkins and B.B.). See Niccolò da Foligno. NEW YORK: *Assumption of the Virgin*, according to Perkins in great part executed by Girolamo. SIENA: *Ascension*. VOLTERRA. MUSEO: *Annunciation*, signed, 1466, and others. CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.: *Altarpiece* (in part executed by Girolamo, Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, May 1905). 150-1.

**Benvenuto Tisi**. See Garofalo.

**Bergognone or Borgognone** (Ambrogio Fassano). Milanese, about 1450-1523.

BERGAMO. LOCHIS GALLERY: *Nursing Madonna* (attrib. to Zenale); *Theodosius and S. Ambrose*. LODI: Four pictures, *Life of the Virgin*. LONDON: *Madonna*, small, Foppesque; *Portrait Figures Adoring ?*, two panels (wings of altarpiece ?) (attrib. also to Zenale). MILAN: *Madonna with Child Crowned by Angels*; *Frescoes*. AMBROSIANA: *Madonna with eight SS.*, etc. TURIN: *Life of S. Ambrose*, two scenes. 207-8, 225.

**Bernardino di Bettto**. See Pintorricchio.

**Bernardino de' Conti**. See De' Conti.

**Bernardino di Mariotto**. Umbrian, active 1497-1527.

PERUGIA: well represented in the gallery. SAN SEVERINO. DUOMO, SACRISTY: *Madonna Saving a Child from a Demon*, signed, 1509; examples in gallery and churches. 156 and n. 4.

**Bertucci, Giovanni Battista**. Schools of Romagna, early 16th c., Umbrian influence.

See Faenza Gallery. 147 n. 2, 203.

**Besozzo, da**. See Leonardo and Molinari.

**Besozzo da, Michelino**. See Molinari.

**Bettino da Faenza**. Schools of Romagna, early 15th c.

RIMINI. CHURCH OF S. GIULIANO: *S. Giuliano with Episodes from his Life*, altarpiece, 1409. 82.

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**Bianchi-Ferrari, Francesco.** Of Modena, school of Ferrara, 1457-1510.

MODENA. ESTENSE GALLERY: *Crucifixion; Annunciation*. S. PIETRO, 2ND ALTAR, L.: *Altarpiece with Predella*. ROME. CORSINI: *Christ in Gethsemane*. 201, 299 and n. 2.

**Bicci di Lorenzo.** Florentine, 1373-1452.

FLORENCE. DUOMO: SS. *Cosmo and Damiano*, with *Predelle*. PARMA: *Madonna*, signed, 1433. PERUGIA: Polyptych, *Madonna and SS.* 70 and n. 4.

**Bicci, Lorenzo di.** See Lorenzi di. 70.

**Bicci, Neri di.** See Neri.

**Bicci, The.** 70, 123 n. 1.

**Bissolo, Pier Francesco.** Venetian, 1464-1528.

ROME. BORGHESI: *Madonna*. TREVISO. S. ANDREA: *Madonna and Two SS.* VERONA: *Circumcision*. VIENNA: *Lady at Toilet*, 1515.

**Blake, William.** 145 n. 2.

**Boccaccino, Boccaccio, c. 1467-1525.** Of Cremona.

CREMONA. DUOMO, NAVE, APSE: *Frescoes*, including *Annunciation*, E. VENICE: *Santa Conversazione*. For the "Pseudo-Boccaccino" see 204 n. 6. 204, 306 n. 1.

**Boccati, The.** 90, 121 n. 2.

**Boccatius, Giovanni.** Of Camerino, active 1435 ?-1480 ?

BERLIN: *Three Archangels and Tobias* (attrib.). PERUGIA: *Madonna and Child Enthroned under a Trellis, surrounded by SS. and Angels*; other examples. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Madonna and Angels; Madonna of Mercy* (Perkins). 90, 153, 155.

**Boccatius, Girolamo di Giovanni.** Of Camerino, active middle of 15th c.

MONTE SAN MONTINO: *Madonna*, signed 1499? fresco; *Madonna, etc.*, 1473, polyptych. 90, 154

**Bologna, School of.** 15th c.

BOLOGNA. S. PETRONIUS: *Story of the Magi, etc.*, c. 1410. CARPI CASTLE. LA SAGRA: *S. Christopher and Others*.

**Boltraffio, Giovanni Antonio.** Milanese, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci, 1467-1516.

CRACOW. CZARTORYSKI MUS.: *Lady with a Weasel*. FLORENCE, UFFIZI: *Narcissus*. MILAN: *Man and Woman Praying*. AMBROSI-

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**ANA:** *Male Portrait; Portrait of Isabella of Aragon*: both in chalk and unfinished. **MUS. CIV.:** *Female Portrait*, from d'Adda Collection (illus. by Mal-Valeri, *Rass. d'A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1912). **POLDI-PEZZOLI:** *Madonna*. 226, 227.

**Bonascia, Bartolommeo.** Of Modena, Ferrarese school, 15th c.

**MODENA.** **ESTENSE GALLERY:** *Pietà*.

**Bonfigli, Benedetto.** Umbrian, c. 1425-1496.

**FLORENCE.** **UFFIZI:** *Drawing for Siege of Perugia* (fresco Pal. Pub., Perugia). **PERUGIA.** **PALAZZO PUBBLICO:** *Annunciation with S. Luke; Lives of S. Louis of Toulouse and of S. Ercolano*, including *Consecration of S. Louis*, frescoes begun 1454, left unfinished at his death. **S. PIETRO:** *Pietà*, 1469; *Various Panels and Church Banners*. 90 n. 2, 121 n. 2, 153, 154-5, 156 and n. 2, 157, 204.

**Bonifazio di Pitati (I. Veronese).** Of Verona, Venetian, active c. 1510-1540.

**DRESDEN:** *Finding of Moses*. **FLORENCE.** **PITTI:** *Finding of Moses; Madonna, S. Elizabeth, and Donor*. **LONDON:** *Santa Conversazione*. **MILAN:** *Finding of Moses*. **ROME.** **COLONNA:** *Holy Family with SS. Jerome and Lucy*. **VENICE.** **ACADEMY:** *Parable of the Rich Man*. 185, 279 and n. 3, 285, 286, 289, 291-2, 293.

**Bonifazio II and III.** See p. 291 n. 5.

**Bono da Ferrara.** Paduan, active c. 1460, assistant of Squarcione.

**LONDON:** *S. Jerome*. **PADUA.** **EREMITANI:** *Frescoes*, as *S. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ*. 175 n. 4, 179 n. 1, 183, 199 n. 4.

**Bonsignori, Francesco.** Of Verona, influenced by Padua and Venice, 1453?-1519.

**LONDON:** *Portrait of a Venetian Senator*, 1487. **MANTUA.** **ACCAD. VIRGILIANA:** *Vision of the Nun Osanna*. **PHILADELPHIA.** **WEIDENER COLLECTION:** *Portrait of Man*. **VENICE.** **S. GIOV. e PAOLO:** *Altarpiece*. 178 n. 2, 192 n. 3, 195, 198, 291.

**Borassa.** Early Spanish painter, influenced by school of Simone Martini. 27 n. 1.

**Bordone, Paris.** Venetian, 1495-1570.

**LONDON:** *Portrait of a Woman*. **MUNICH:** *Man Counting Jewels*. **VENICE:** *Doge and Fisherman*, E. 285, 289, 292.

**Borgognone.** See Bergognone.

**Bosuccio.** See Leonardo da Besozzo.

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**Botticelli, Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi.** Florentine, 1444-1510.

BERLIN: *Madonna with SS.*; *S. Sebastian*?. DRESDEN: *Dante Drawings*; *Life of S. Zenobius*. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Coronation [Virgin and God the Father by inferior hand (B. B.)]*; *Predelle*, including *Annunciation*, probably c. 1490; *Primavera*, c. 1475. OGNISSANTI: *S. Augustine*, 1480. UFFIZI: *Adoration of the Magi* (from S. M. Novella), c. 1477?; *Birth of Venus*, probably c. 1486; *Calumny* (painted after Lucian's description of a picture by Apelles), L.; *Fortezza*; *Magnificat*, tondo; *Portrait of Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici*, E. LONDON: *Adoration of the Magi*, E.; *Adoration of the Magi*, tondo, E.; *Nativity*, 1501; *Portrait of Young Man*, 1487. MOND COLLECTION: *Scenes from the Life of S. Zenobius*, two panels, L. MILAN. AMBROSIANA: *Madonna and Angels*, tondo. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Madonna*, half-length. NEW YORK: *Legend of S. Zenobius*, belonging to series of Dresden and Mond panels, important for history of style. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Predelle* (Horne, *Rass. d'A.*, Sept. 1913). ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL: *Frescoes, Moses and Daughters of Jethro*; *Destruction of Children of Korah*; *Temptation*; some of the *Single Figures of Popes*, 1481-1482. 69, 113, 118, 120, 121, 123, 127 and n. 4, 128-134, 138, 143, 144, 145 n. 2, 151, 157, 243.

**Botticini, Francesco di Giovanni.** Florentine, 1446-1498.

BERLIN: *Crucifixion*, E., 1475. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Tobias and the Three Archangels*; *Tobias and the Archangel*. PISTI: *Madonna in the Garden*. S. SPIRITO: *S. Monica and Nuns*. LONDON: *Palmieri Altarpiece*, *Assumption of the Virgin*; *S. Jerome in the Desert and Other SS.* RICHMOND. SIR F. COOK: *Bust of Young Man*. 126, 127-128, 134.

**Botticini, Raffaello.** Son and follower of Franc. Botticini, 1477-?, rather feeble eclectic.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Deposition*, 1504.

**Bramante.** Of Urbino, 1444-1514, architect and painter.

MILAN. BRERA and CASTELLO: *Decorative Works*. CHIARAVALLE, near Milan: *Christ at the Column*. 205 and n. 3, 206, 207, 247, 309 n. 1.

**Bramantino (Bartolommeo Suardi).** Milanese, c. 1460-1529, pupil of Bramante.

MILAN: *Frescoes and Others*. AMBROSIANA: *Nativity*. NEW YORK. HIST. SOC.: *Calvary* (?). PAVIA. CERTOSA, CHURCH: *Ecce Homo*, fresco. VENICE. LAYARD COLLECTION: *Adoration of the Magi*. 178 n. 2, 206, 207, 208, 253.

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**Brea, Family of.** Of Nice. *See* Brea, Ludovico.

CAMPIONE: *Frescoes*, with inscription of family, dated 1400.  
TAGGIA: *Examples*.

**Brea, Antonio.** Active 1504-1545, son of Ludovico Brea.

**Brea, Francesco.** Active 1530-1562, son or nephew of Ludovico Brea.

**Brea, Ludovico (Veri ?).** Of Nice, Milanese, 1458 ?-1519.

SAVONA: *Triptych*, 1490, in collaboration with Foppa. 208 n. 3, 310.

**Brenderlam.** Flemish-French, late 14th c.

DIJON: *Organ-doors*. 27, 76, 93 n. 2.

**Brescianino, Andrea del.** Sienese, active 1507-after 1525, inspired by del Sarto and Raphael.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna Enthroned*. 259, 314.

**Bronzino, Angelo Allori.** Florentine, pupil of Pontormo, 1502 ?-1572.

*Portraits* (especially), in Florence and elsewhere. 313.

**Brunelleschi.** 109 n. 1.

**Brusatorci, Domenico Riccio.** Veronese, 1494-1567.

PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Shepherd and Flock*.  
VERONA. In CHURCHES: *Altarpieces*. PALAZZO RIDOLFI: *Historical Scenes*. 199, 286 and n. 3.

**Buffalmacco (Buonamico).** Giottesque, living in 1351.

FLORENCE. BADIA: *Fragments of Frescoes*. 63 n. 2, 64-5.

**Bugiardini.** Florentine, 1475-1554.

BOLOGNA: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Catherine, Antony of Padua, and Infant S. John; S. John in the Desert*. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Examples*. LONDON: *Madonna and Child, Infant S. John, and Angels* (B.B.), design by Michelangelo ?, formerly attrib. to Dom. Ghirlandajo, certainly of his school. PARIS: *Young Man* (B.B.), perhaps by Franciabigio. ROME. CORSINI: *Madonna* (? B.B.), of Raphaelesque style. 138, 232-3 and n. 3, 245.

**Buonaccorso (or Bonaccorso) Niccolo di.** *See* Niccolò.

**Buonaiuto, Andrea.** *See* Andrea da Firenze.

**Buonamico.** *See* Buffalmacco.

**Buonarroti, Michelangelo (Michelangiolo).** Florentine, 1475-1564.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Holy Family*, tondo. LONDON: *Deposi-*

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tion, unfinished, influence of Leonardo da Vinci in background rocks; *Madonna and Child, Infant S. John, and Angels*, from Michelangelo's design? See Bugiardini. PALESTRINA: *Deposition*, important, little known. See Davies, illus. ROME. VATICAN: SISTINE CHAPEL, CEILING: *Frescoes*, 1508-1512. E. WALL: *Last Judgment*, 1535-1541. CAPELLA PAOLINA: *Conversion of Paul*, L.; *Martyrdom of Peter*, L.

**Sculptures.**—BOLOGNA. S. DOMENICO: *Angel*; *S. Petronius*, Ark of S. Dominic, 1494. BRUGES. S. BAVON: *Madonna and Child*, in the round, 1506. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *David*, 1504; *Four Unfinished Figures* (formerly in Boboli Gardens); COURT: *S. Matthew*, unfinished. BARGELLO: *Bacchus*, E.; *Brutus*; *Madonna*, tondo relief; *Apollo*. CASA BUONARROTI: *Centaur and Lapiths*, relief, E. DUOMO, behind High Altar: *Deposition*, L. S. LORENZO, NEW SACRISTY: *Tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliano dei Medici*, left unfinished 1534. LONDON. BURLINGTON HOUSE, DIPLOMA GALLERY: *Madonna*, tondo relief. S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM: *Cupid*, E.; Models of limbs of the *David*. PARIS: *Two Captives*. ROME. S. M. SOPRA MINERVA: *Christ with Cross*, in part, finished 1521. S. PETER'S: *Pietà*. S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI: *Moses*; *Rachel*? *Leah*? 50 n. 4, 108, 109, 125, 142, 143, 145 n. 2, 152, 158, 163, 221, 225, 229, 230, 234-45; Dome of S. Peter's, 243; 246, 250 and n. 3, 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 269 and n. 1, 304, 313.

Burguignon (Jacques Courtois). Roman school, 17th c. 312 n. 1.

Busi, Giovanni. See Cariani.

Butinone, Bernardino. Of Treviglio, school of Milan, 1430?-1507.

BERLIN: *Pietà*, remarkable example. ISOLA BELLA, Lago Maggiore. BORROMEO COLLECTION: *Madonna with SS.*, charming. MILAN: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Stephen and Bernardino*, triptych, signed, 1454. 207.

Cagliari, Paolo. See Veronese, Paolo.

Calckar, von. See Johan Stephan —.

Cambiaso, Luca. Genoese, 1527-1585.

SPAIN. ESCURIAL: *Paradise*. 310.

Campi, Giulio. Of Cremona, c. 1500-2-1572.

CREMONA: *Frescoes and Altarpieces*. MILAN. MARCHESI FASATI: *Fancy Portrait of a Lady*. 308.

Campione, da. See Giovanni.

Canale, Antonio. See Canaletto.

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**Canaletto, Giovanni Antonio da Canale.** Venetian, 1697-1768, influenced by Marieschi.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *The Ducal Palace*. LONDON: *Scuola di San Rocco*, and others. 288, 315.

**Canavesio, Giovanni.** Ligurian, a priest-painter, middle of 15th c.

TURIN: Polyptych, *Madonna and SS.*

**Cane, Ottaviano.** Piedmontese, c. 1498-after 1570, influenced by Gaudenzio Ferrari.

TURIN: *Madonna di Fontaneto*.

**Capanna, Puccio.** See Puccio.

**Caporali, Bartolommeo.** Umbrian, contemporary of Bonfigli.

BERLIN: *Madonna and Two Angels*. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna and Angels*. LONDON. MR. HENRY WAGNER: *Madonna and Angels*. PASSIGNANO, near Perugia. CHURCH MADONNA DELL' OLIVO: *Madonna with Two Angels Holding Curtain*. 153 n. 1, 154 n. 4.

**Caravaggio, so called (Michael Angelo Amerighi da Caravaggio).** Lombard, Roman school, 1569-1609.

PARIS: *Death of the Virgin*. ROME. VATICAN: *Deposition from the Cross*, his masterpiece. 312, 314.

**Caravaggio, Polidore.** Roman school, 16th c. 311 n. 7.

**Cariani (Giovanni Busi).** Venetian, c. 1480-c. 1544.

ROME. VILLA BORGHESE: *Madonna and S. Peter*. BERGAMO. CARRARA GALLERY: *Portrait of a Lady?* BERLIN: *Woman in a Landscape*. GLASGOW: *Christ and the Adulteress?* attrib. also to Giorgione and to others. MILAN: *Madonna and SS.* MUNICH: *Man in Fur Cloak?* attrib. also to Palma, formerly to Giorgione. PARIS: *Holy Family?* 204 n. 1, 289, 291 and n. 3.

**Carnevale, Fra.** Follower of P. d. Francesca.

ROME. BARBARINI: *Small Panels*.

**Caroto, Francesco.** Veronese, Paduan and Venetian influence, 1470-1546.

DRESDEN: *Madonna with Two Angels*, Raphaellesque. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Knight and Squire*, attrib. also to Cavazzola, formerly to Giorgione. FRANKFORT a/M.: *Madonna*. MODENA: *Virgin Sewing*, 1501. VERONA: *Tobias with the three Archangels*. S. GIOVANNI IN FONTE: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. and a Donor*. 178 n. 2, 199.

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**Caroto, Giovanni.** Veronese, Paduan and Venetian influence, 1488-1566 ?

MEZZANE DI SOTTO, near Verona: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Catherine and Paul*, almost Giorgionesque. VERONA. GALLERY and CHURCHES: *Various Panels*. 199.

**Carpaccio, Vittore.** Venetian, active 1478-1522.

BERLIN: *Burial of Christ*. CAPODISTRIA. CATHEDRAL: *Altarpiece*. FERRARA: *Death of the Virgin*, 1508. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Finding of the True Cross*, fragment. NEW YORK: *Meditation on the Passion*. PIRANO. S. FRANCESCO: *Altarpiece*. VENICE: *Life of S. Ursula* (in several large pictures); *Presentation of the Infant Christ*, 1510. DUCAL PALACE: *Lion of S. Mark*. MUSEO CIVICO: *Two Courtesans*. S. GIORGIO DEGLI SCHIAVONI: *Lives of SS. George and Jerome, etc.* Various SCUOLE: *Wall Paintings*. VIENNA: *Christ Adored by Angels*, 1496. LONDON: *Madonna, SS. John and Christopher, with Doge*, 1478 ? by Bastiani ? 98, 172, 174, 176, 184 and n. 1, 185, 186-8, 194, 266, 286.

**Carracci, Agostino.** 1557-1602, cousin of Ludovico Carracci.

BOLOGNA: *Communion of S. Jerome*. 314.

**Carracci, Annibale.** 1560-1609, cousin of Ludovico Carracci, brother of Agostino.

PARIS: *Landscape Mythology*. Many works Rome and elsewhere. 314 and n. 3.

**Carracci, Ludovico.** Of Bologna, 1555-1619, pupil of Tintoretto, founder of so-called Eclectic School.

BOLOGNA: *Madonna degli Scalzi*, illust. Ricci, *N. It.*, 336. 314.

**Carracci, The,** 304, 305.

**Carriera, Rosalba.** Venetian, 1675-1758.

*Pastel portraits*. 315.

**Castagno.** See Andrea del.

**Castiglione, G. B.** School of Genoa, 17th c. 310.

**Catena** (Vincenzo da Treviso). Active 1495-1531, provincial Venetian, school of the Bellini.

BERGAMO. CARRARA GALLERY: *Christ at Emmaus*. BUDAPESTH: *Madonna, SS., and Donor*, signed. LONDON: *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ*; *S. Jerome in his Study*, undisputed, influence of Carpaccio. LORD ASHBURNHAM: *Madonna, two SS., and Donor*, 1505. PADUA: *Circumcision*, signed. PARIS: *Reception of Venetian Ambassadors at Cairo* (B.B.), influence of Carpaccio; *Allegorical Landscape*. VENICE. DUCAL PALACE: *Madonna, Two Saints, and Doge Loredano*,



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signed (given by Bode to another imitator of Bellini). GIOVANELLI : *Madonna with John the Baptist and Female Saint*. S. M. MATER DOMINI : *Martyrdom of S. Christina*. VIENNA : *Portrait of a Canon*, signed. 189 n. 2, 196 and n. 1.

**Caterino.** See Donato and Caterino. 79.

**Cavalli, Vitale.** Bolognese, active 1340-1359.

BOLOGNA : *Virgin and Child*. 82 n. 1.

**Cavallini, Pietro.** Roman, late 13th c.

MUNICH : Panel with three scenes, 1. *Virgin Enthroned*, 2. *Christ Washing Disciples' Feet*, 3. *Last Judgment*; panel with three scenes, 1. *Christ on the Cross*, 2. *Christ bearing the Cross*, 3. *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata* (Douglas; by Giotto, B.B.), seems to indicate Giotto's influence. ROME. ARACOELI : *Madonna with SS. Francis and Evangelist*, Mosaic (Toesca, Vent.). S. CECILIA IN TRASTEVERE, GALLERY ABOVE ENTRANCE : *Fragment of Last Judgment*, fresco. S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, TRIUMPHAL ARCH : *Life of the Virgin, etc.*, mosaics, probably 1291. S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO : *The Saviour with four SS.*, powerful fresco. S. GRISOGONO : *Madonna with SS. Jacopo and Grisogono on a Cosmatesque Throne* (Vent., † Hermanin and Douglas). NAPLES. S. M. DONNA REGINA : *Life and Passion of Christ; Other Subjects*, frescoes, 1308. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and n. 1, 15-17, 40, 42, 51, 55, 59, 65, 311.

**Cavallini, School of.**

ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, UPPER CHURCH. See p. 13 ff., and 58-9.

**Cavazzola (Paolo Morando).** Veronese, 1486-1522.

DRESDEN : *Male Portrait*. LONDON : *Madonna with Baptist and Angel*. VERONA : Numerous pictures. 199.

**Ceccharelli, N.** Sienese, 15th c.

RICHMOND. SIR F. COOK : *Madonna*, 1447. SIENA : *Altarpiece* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A. Senese*, V, 5 f.), attrib. to Bartolommeo di Nutino.

**Cennini, Cennino.** Giottesque, L. 14th c. and E. 15th c. Important writer on painting.

No known works. 63, 70.

**Cesare da Sesto.** Milanese, follower of Leonardo da Vinci, 1477-1523.

Works in Milan and various galleries and collections. 226, 227.

**Charenton.** French. 76.

**Cigoli.** Florentine. 17th c. 312 n. 1.

**Cima, Giovanni Battista da Conegliano, 1460-c. 1517.** Venetian.

DRESDEN: *Presentation of the Virgin*. PARMA: *Endymion; Apollo and Marsyas*, 1494. MILAN: SS. *Peter Martyr, Augustine, and Nicholas of Bari*. MODENA: *Pietà*. VENICE. CARMINE: *Adoration of the Shepherds*. S. GIOVANNI IN BRAGORA: *Baptism of Christ*. VIENNA: *Madonna*. 192 n. 3, 195-6, 290.

**Cimabue.** Florentine, c. 1240-c. 1301.

ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, LOWER CHURCH, N. TRANSEPT: *Madonna and Child with S. Francis and Angels*,<sup>1</sup> fresco, repainted. See pp. 57-58, for *Fragmentary Remains* in UPPER CHURCH, CHOIR,<sup>1</sup> CROSS VAULTING<sup>1</sup> (part reprod. in Strzykowski), N. TRANSEPT, S. TRANSEPT.<sup>1</sup> FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Madonna and Child Enthroned with SS. and Angels*, originally in S. Trinità.<sup>2</sup> BAPTISTERY: *Mosaics* show Cimabue's influence in part. See pp. 7-8 n. 2. S. CROCE, SACRISTY: archaic *Crucifixion*, altarpiece, tempera, damaged (questioned). S. M. NOVELLA, RUCELLAI CHAPEL: *Madonna, Child, and Angels*? altarpiece, attrib. to Duccio by Richter and others (see p. 43 f.), or to Siennese school, see C. & C., Hutton, I, 168 f., II, 23 f. PARIS: *Altarpiece*,<sup>2</sup> originally in S. Francesco, Pisa, considerably repainted, opinions as to date differ, constrained, but impressive. PISA. CATHEDRAL, APSE: *Christ, the Virgin, and S. John the Evangelist*, mosaic, authenticated, 1301-1302? much restored, the *Virgin* by a later artist, *S. John* partly original. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 39, 40-44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 55, 57, 58, 59, 223.

ROME. VATICAN LIBRARY contains drawings of lost works in colonnade of old S. Peter's and at Assisi (by Cimabue? Vent., V, 195 ff.). See Italo-Byzantine Copies in S. Pietro in Grado, near Pisa, as *Crucifixion of S. Peter*.

**Cimabue, School of.**

FLORENCE. S. CROCE, S. MICHAEL CHAPEL: *S. Michael and the Dragon; S. Galgano*; other *Single SS.*, frescoes. CH. OF THE CARMINE, SACRISTY, CHAPEL: *Frescoes* (ruined). 44.

**Cimabue, School of.** See Manfredino.

**Cione, Andrea di.** See Orcagna.

**Civerchio, V.** Brescian, c. 1470-1544.

BRESCIA. MARTINENGO GALLERY: SS. *Anthony of Padua, Roch, Sebastian* (Foppesque), *Angels, Pietà* above, polyptych, 1495. MILAN: *Nativity with S. Catherine*, signed. 207.

**Claude.** 231, 313.

**Cola d'Amatrice.** Of the Abruzzi. Peruginisque. 311 n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Accepted by most critics.

<sup>2</sup> Hands of assistants.

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**Conrad.** Of Germany, worked in Liguria, 15th c.

GENOA. S. M. DI CASTELLO, CLOISTER, VAULTING: *Decorations*.  
PONTREMOLI. SS. ANNUNZIATA: *Madonna with Four Church  
Fathers*, altarpiece, style of Conrad? (*Rass. d'A.*, IV, fasc. 4). 310.

**Conti, Bernardino de'.** *See* De' Conti.

**Coppo di Marcovaldo.** Florentine, late mediæval, middle of 13th c.

PISTOIA. DUOMO: *Painted Crucifix*, 1472, with co-operation of  
another artist. SIENA. SERVI: *Madonna*, 1261. 10.

**Cordegliaghi.** 196 n. 3.

**Corracchio.** 208 n. 3.

**Correggio (Antonio Allegri).** Ferrara-Bologna school, 1494-1534.

BERLIN: *Leda*, 1530-1533. DRESDEN: *Madonna Enthroned with  
S. Francis and Others*, 1515; *Holy Night*, finished 1530; *Madonna with  
S. George*, 1530-1531. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna with Angels  
in a Glory*; *Repose on Flight to Egypt*, 1515-1518. LONDON: *Edu-  
cation of Cupid*, 1521-1522. BENSON COLLECTION: *Christ taking Leave  
of His Mother*, 1513-1514. MILAN. FRIZZONI COLLECTION: *Be-  
trothal of S. Catherine of Alexandria*, 1512-1514. CRESPI COLLECTION:  
*Nativity*. PARMA: *Il Giorno and Others*. CONVENT S. PAOLO:  
*Frescoes*, 1518-1519. S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, CUPOLA: *Assumption*,  
frescoes, 1520-1524; *S. John on Patmos*, lunette, fresco. DUOMO,  
CUPOLA: *Frescoes*, 1524-1530. PARIS: *Antiope with Zeus Transformed  
into a Satyr*, 1521-1522. ROME. BORGHESE: *Danæ*. VIENNA:  
*Io*, 1530-1533. 178 n. 2, 181, 201, 242, 255, 258, 279, 283, 299-303,  
305, 306, 314.

**Cosimo, Pier di.** *See* Pier.

**Cosma, Giovanni di.** *See* Cosmati.

AGINCOURT: *Tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo* (sculptured by Arnolfo?).  
ROME. S. M. SOPRA MINERVA: *Madonna Enthroned with Two SS.*,  
mosaic, 1290; *Tomb of William Durand*. 8 n. 1.

**Cosmati, The.** Roman School.

LORENZO, 1st half 13th c.; JACOPO, Lorenzo's son; COSMAS I, Jacopo's  
son; COSMAS II; GIOVANNI DI COSMA.

CIVITA CASTELLANA. CATHEDRAL: *Pilasters and Frieze of  
Portal*, early Cosmati example. 7-8, 10, 11.

**Cossa, Francesco.** Ferrarese, c. 1435-1480.

BERLIN: *Autumn*. BOLOGNA: *Madonna with S. Petronius, the  
Evangelist, etc.* Notice characterisation. S. GIOVANNI IN MONTE:  
*S. John on Patmos*, stained glass in W. window. FERRARA. PALAZZO

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SCHIFANOIA: *Frescoes*, with assistants, *see* feeble drawing. LONDON: *S. Hyacinth*; the two side parts in Milan; predella in the Vatican. MILAN: Side parts of *S. Hyacinth* (in London) = *SS. Peter and John Baptist*. ROME. VATICAN: Predella to *S. Hyacinth* (in London) = *Miracles of S. Hyacinth*. 131, 200-201.

Costa, Lorenzo. Ferrarese, 1460-1535, partner of F. Francia of Bologna.

BOLOGNA. S. GIACOMO MAGGIORE, BENTIVOGLIO CHAPEL: *Altarpiece*, 1488; *Frescoes*, 1490. S. GIOVANNI IN MONTE: *Coronation and SS.*, 1501, imitation of Perugino. S. PETRONIUS: *Madonna and SS.*, 1492. MILAN: *Adoration of the Magi*, 1499. MARCHESE BRIVIO: *S. Anna teaching the Virgin*. PARIS: *The Court*, a fantastic mythology, painted for Isabella d'Este's boudoir. 159, 201-202, 203 and n. 1, 299, 306 and n. 1.

Credi, di. *See* Lorenzo.

Crivelli, Carlo, Venetian, 1440 ?-after 1493.

Pupil of the first Vivarini; Medium, tempera. Few dates known, but his style may be traced and dates determined with approximate certainty from internal evidence. We accept Rushforth's results as substantially indisputable.

ANCONA: *Madonna*,<sup>1</sup> E. Composition improves upon the Verona picture; suggests Gent. da Fabriano in beauty of line, and the Florentine sculptors, especially Donatello, in fine spacing, proportions, movement. Landscape close to Squarcione (Berlin); Paduan fruit and richly figured drapery. Crivelli is usually more sober in his use of ornament than the Paduans. BERLIN: *Madonna and Child giving the Keys to S. Peter*, altarpiece, 1487-1490 (from Fermo), *see* p. 173. BOSTON: *Pietà*, 1485 (formerly of the Panciatchi Coll.). FENWAY COURT: *S. George and the Dragon*, E., c. 1468 (Rushforth), less serious phase. BROOKLYN, N.Y. F. L. BABBOTT, Esq.: *S. James* (Perkins). BRUSSELS: *Madonna*.<sup>1</sup> FRANKFORT a/M.: *Annunciation*. LONDON: *Altarpiece*, 1476 (from Cathedral, Ascoli). Shows mature mastery. In figure of Baptist Crivelli's dramatic quality begins to be noticeable. *Cf.* with *Baptist at Massa Fermana*, *Annunciation*, *Pietà*; <sup>2</sup> "*Madonna della Rondine*," with predella, *S. George and the Dragon*, and other scenes. MR. ROBERT BENSON: *Virgin and Child*, 1472. *See* p. 172. LORD NORTHBROOK: *Madonna*.<sup>1</sup> MACERATA, Marches of Ancona: *Madonna*.<sup>1</sup> MASSA FERMANA. MUNICIPIO: *Madonna and SS.*, altarpiece with predella, 1468, reprod. Rushforth, p. 40, earliest dated picture, *SS. Peter, Silvester* = early Muranese, *S. John Baptist* in rocky landscape = Paduan hardness; *Christ*

<sup>1</sup> Madonna panels soon after 1470. *See* p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Christ and S. Francis*, Milan.

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*Child* = Squarcionesque, predella recalls G. da Fabriano and Mantegna, *Virgin* = some of Bart. Vivarini's pensive feeling. MILAN: *Crucifixion*, cf. *Pietàs*, see p. 172 and n. 2; Rushforth, p. 68; *Madonna and SS.*, 1482, see p. 173 n. 1. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Christ and S. Francis* (or *Blood of the Redeemer*), E., strangely impressive, Paduan likenesses (Rushforth, p. 53) are forgotten. Cf. in spirit London *Christ on the Cross*, by Antonello. NEW YORK: *Pietà*,<sup>1</sup> 1485, formerly Crawshaw Collection (Rushforth), especially noteworthy. PHILADELPHIA, JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Pietà* (Perkins), E., very impressive. VENICE: *Four Saints*, see p. 172. VERONA: *Madonna with Putti Holding Instruments of the Passion*, undated, E., p. 172. 81, 97, 98, 150, 154, 156, 168, 169, 170, 171-3, 182, 183, 200.

**Daddi, Bernardo.** Giottesque, 1299 ?—.

ENGLEWOOD, New Jersey. PLATT COLLECTION: *Crucifixion*, panel. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Altarpiece*. BIGALLO: *Tabernacle*. S. CROCE: *Frescoes*. S. MARTINO ALLA PALMA: *Altarpiece*, important (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, XIII, II, 189). LONDON. S. HUBERT PARRY: *Altarpiece*, signed. OR SAN MICHELE, TABERNACLE: *Altarpiece* ? 63 and n. 2, 65, 67, 86.

**Dai Libri.** See Girolamo.

**Daniele da Volterra.** Michelangelesque, 1509-1566.

ROME. S. TRINITA DE MONTI: *Descent from the Cross*. 242 n. 1, 311 n. 7, 314.

**Daumier.** 144, 280.

**Dario.** Minor artist in Treviso, 15th c. 73.

**De' Conti, Bernardino.** Milanese, imitator of Leonardo da Vinci, active c. 1490-1522.

ARCORE, near Monza. VITTADINI COLLECTION: *Profile of Man*. BERLIN: *Portrait of a Cardinal*. MILAN: *Enthroned Madonna with SS., Ludovico il Moro, Beatrice d'Este, and their two Boys as Donors* ? 1494. PRINCE TRIVULZIO: *Portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza*. ROME. VATICAN, ANTICAMERA DEL PAPA: *Portrait of the little Francesco Sforza*. S. PETERSBURG: *Madonna of the Litta Family* ? 220, 227-28.

**Defendente de Ferrari.** Piedmontese, active c. 1510-1535.

TURIN: *Madonna and SS.*, triptych. Many works Turin and elsewhere. 309.

**Degas.** 143.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Christ and S. Francis*, Milan.

- Delacroix.** 143, 280.
- Delli, Dello.** Florentine, of the Bicci School of E. 15th c. 70.
- Diamante, Fra.** Florentine, follower of Lippi, 2nd half 15th c.  
SPOLETO. DUOMO, APSE: Frescoes, *Life of the Virgin*, in great part. 119 n. 1, 122.
- Diana.** Fellow-pupil of Carpaccio. 188.
- Di Credi.** See Lorenzo.
- Dolce, Carlo.** Of Florence, Roman school, 17th c. 312 n. 1.
- Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri).** Bolognese Eclectic, 1581-1641.  
ROME. BORGHESE: *Diana Hunting*. VATICAN: *Communion of S. Jerome*. 314.
- Domenico di Bartolo.** Sienese, c. 1400-1449?, influenced Bonfigli.  
PERUGIA: *Altarpiece*, 1438. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna and Child*, signed (*Rass. d'A. Senese*, VI, 72). SIENA: *Madonna*, signed, 1433. HOSPITAL (OSPEDALE DI S. M. DELLA SCALA): *Frescoes*, 1440-1443. 36, 90 n. 2, 149, 153, 155 n. 1.
- Domenico Michelino.** Florentine, follower of Lippi. See C. & C. for other suggested relationships.  
FLORENCE. DUOMO: *Portrait of Dante, etc.*, 1465, fresco. S. APOLLONIA: *Free Copy of Filippo Lippi's Nativities* (Berlin and Florence): (by Neri di Bicci, Crutt., *Flor. Churches*). 75 n. 1, 122.
- Domenico Veneziano.** Florentine, c. 1400-1461.  
BERLIN: *Martyrdom of S. Lucy*. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna and Four SS.* S. CROCE, NAVE, R. WALL: Fresco, *Baptist and S. Francis*, virile, fine in colour. LONDON: *Madonna Enthroned*, fresco transferred to canvas; *Heads of Monks*, fresco fragments transferred to canvas, much restored, important. 112, 113, 116 and n. 2, 139, 146, 153.
- Domenico Veneziano, School of.**  
NEW YORK. HIST. SOC., BRYAN COLLECTION: *Triumph of Fame*, decorative salver. 113 n. 3.
- Donatello.** Florentine sculptor. 76, 109 n. 1, 117, 123, 124, 125, 149, 167 n. 2, 168, 175 and n. 5, 177 n. 3, 178, 179, 182, 189 n. 3, 200, 234, 236, 250 n. 1, 285.
- Donato and Caterino.** Byzantine school of Venice, 14th c.  
VENICE. QUERINI-STAMPALIA: *Coronation of the Virgin*. 79.
- Donato da Montorfano.** Follower of Foppa. 208 n. 3.

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**Dossi, Dosso** (Giovanni Luteri). Ferrarese, 1479-1541.

FERRARA: Altarpiece, *Madonna and SS.* CASTELLO, HALL: *Decorative Frescoes.* FLORENCE. PITTI: *Drinking Party.* GRAZ: *Hercules.* MILAN: *Baptist; S. Sebastian.* MODENA: *Portrait of Ercole d'Este.* ROME. CAPITOL: *Holy Family.* BORGHESI: *Circe.* TRENTO. CASTELLO: *Decorative Frescoes.* VISNAO. COUNT LANCKORNSKI: *Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, and Iris.* Many works in various places. 299, 302, 305-306, 306 n. 1.

**Duccio di Buoninsegna.** Sienese, active 1279-1319.

LONDON: *Annunciation*, small pane; *Madonna and Child with Other Figures*, small triptych; two *Panels* from the *Majestas*, Siena. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: Small altarpiece with central *Crucifixion* and *Two Side Panels.* EARL CRAWFORD: *Crucifixion* (exhib. Tuscan Exhib., 1894-1895, New Gallery, London, photo. by Dixon). SIENA: *Madonna and Child with Angels and Three Worshipping Monks*, little panel. OPERA DEL DUOMO: *Majestas*, polyptych, formerly in Duomo, 1308-1311, dismembered, well preserved. 16, 18-20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 42, 44, 150.

Above pictures, except the *Majestas*, dated on internal, not on doc. evidence. Cf. with *Rucellai Madonna*, Florence, to determine Duccio's possible authorship of that Madonna.

**Duccio, School of.**

NEW YORK. HIST. SOC., BRYAN COLLECTION: *Crucifixion?* by Segna? 20 n. 1.

**Dürer, Albert.** 195.

**Erri, Agnolo.** Active 1449-1465, school of Modena, later 15th c.

MODENA. ESTENSE GALLERY: *Altarpiece.*

**Erri, Annibale.** Of Modena, Ferrarese style, 15th c.

**Erri, Bartolommeo.** School of Modena, later 15th c.

**Erri, Benedetto.** School of Modena, active 1436-1453.

**Erri Family.** Of Modena. See Agnolo and others.

**Erri, Pellegrino.** School of Modena, 1454-1497.

**Eusebio di San Giorgio.** Umbrian, active 1492-1527.

PERUGIA: *Adoration of the Magi*, 1505. Others. 161.

**Falconetto, Giammaria.** Veronese, 1468-1534.

BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Cassone?*

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**Farinati, Paolo.** Veronese, 1522-1606.

Works sometimes confused with those of Paolo Veronese, whom he assisted.

**Fei, Paolo di Giovanni.** Siense, active 1372-1410, close follower of Andrea Vanni. 36.

NAPLES. DUOMO: Altarpiece, *Trinity and SS.* (Perkins), formerly attrib. to Giotto.

**Ferramola.** Follower of Foppa. 207.

**Ferrari, Altobello (Melone).** Of Cremona, imitator of the Ferrarese and of Francia.

CREMONA. S. ABBONDIO: *Madonna in Glory with Angels.* 204.

**Ferrari, Gaudenzio.** Piedmontese, c. 1481-1546.

MILAN. S. M. DELLA GRAZIE: *Passion Scenes and Angels*, 1542. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Madonna*. SARONNO, near Milan: *S. M. dei Miracoli*. CUPOLA: *Frescoes*, 1535-1536. TURIN: *Joaquim Driven from the Temple*; other works. VARALLO. SACRO MONTE, CHAPELS: *Frescoes*. VERCELLI. S. CRISTOFORO: *Adoration of the Shepherds with Annunciation and Visitation* (background). Many works in various places. 206, 309.

**Filippino.** See Lippi.

**Fiorentino, Rosso.** See Rosso.

**Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.** Umbrian, 1440-1521.

BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Annunciation*, from Assisi, Portiuncula of S. M. degli Angeli (by Antoniazio Romano?). FLORENCE. PITTI: *Adoration of the Magi*, L. LONDON, SALTING BEQUEST: *Madonna*, 1470-1480? PERUGIA: *Adoration of the Magi*; *Miracles of S. Bernardino*, six panels, 1473; *Nativity*; *Niche with SS. Peter and Paul* at sides, 1482. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *S. Antony of Padua* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, Aug.-Sept. 1909). NANTES, MUSEE: *SS. Anthony of Padua and Sebastian* (Perkins, attrib., *Rass. d'A.*, Oct. 1905, one of his finest works, showing Verrocchiesque derivations). 126 Note, 138 n., 147 and n. 3, 153, 155-6, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163 and n. 1.

**Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, School of.**

MONTONE. S. FRANCESCO: *Madonna of Mercy.* 156.

**Fogolino, Marcello.** School of Vicenza, influenced by Montagna.

CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A. FOGG MUSEUM: *Adoration of the Magi*, good example. MILAN. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Virgin and Child.* 178 n. 2.



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**Foppa, Vincenzo.** Of Brescia, Milanese, c. 1427—after 1502.

ARCORE, near Monza. VITTADINI COLLECTION: *Annunciation*.  
BERGAMO. CARRARA: *Crucifixion*, 1456, signed, dated, originally  
in S. M. delle Grazie. LOCHIS: *S. Jerome*. BERLIN: *Pietà*, Bra-  
mante's influence. LONDON: *Adoration of the Magi*, mature.  
MILAN: *Madonna, etc.*, polyptych, 1456. CASTELLO: *Madonna, E.*;  
*Martyrdom of S. Sebastian*, Bramante's influence; FRIZZONI COLLECTION:  
*Madonna*. NOSEDA COLLECTION: *Madonna with Angels, E.*, Pisanel-  
lesque. S. EUSTORGIO, PORTINARI CHAPEL: *Frescoes*, before 1468.  
NEWPORT, R.I. DAVIS COLLECTION: *Virgin and Child*. PHILA-  
DELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna*, small. 204-205, 206,  
207, 226, 227, 228, 310.

**Fossano, Ambrogio.** See Bergognone.

**Francesco, Napoletano.**

BOSTON. MORISAN COLLECTION: *Madonna and Child* (Perkins,  
*Rass. d'A.*, 1909; Herbert Cook, *Burl. Mag.*).

**Francesco da Rimini, Giovanni.** School of the Romagna, active  
1458-1471.

PESARO: *S. Dominic ministered to by Angels* (Ricci). 204.

**Francesco di Giorgio.** Siennese, 1439-1502.

PARIS: *Cassone*. RICHMOND. SIR F. COOK: *Profile of a Lady*.  
SIENA: *Annunciation* (small); *Coronation of the Virgin*. 150, 151,  
156 n. 1, 217.

**Francesco Rizo da S. Croce.** See Rizo.

**Francesco da Volterra.** Giottesque, 14th c. 62.

**Francia** (Francesco Raibolini). Bolognese, 1450-1517.

BOLOGNA. ORATORY S. CECILIA: *Marriage and Burial of S.*  
*Cecilia*. DRESDEN: *Adoration of the Magi*, mature style, typical,  
influence of Costa and Raphael. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Young Man*  
(*E. Scappi*). GLASGOW: *Nativity*. LONDON: *Pietà*. MUNICH:  
*Virgin in the Rose Garden*. ROME. BORGHESE: *S. Stephan, Martyr*.  
CORSINI: *S. George and the Dragon*. 202 n. 1, 202-3, 203 n. 1 and 2.

**Franciabigio.** Florentine, copyist of Andrea del Sarto, 1482-1525.  
231, 233 n. 3.

**Fredi, di.** See Bartolo.

**Fumiani.** Venetian, 1643-1710, Baroque.

VENICE. S. PANTALEONE, CEILING. 315.

**Fungai, Bernardino.** Sienese, 1460-1516.

LONDON. SALTING BEQUEST: *Portrait of Costanza di Medici*? (catalogued as di Credi, "Ghirlandaio" (B. B.)), see p. 151 n. 2. SIENA. S. GIROLAMO, NICHE IN CLOISTER: *Assumption of the Virgin* (Olcott, B.B.). 151.

**Gaddi, Agnolo (Angelo).** Giottesque, c. 1333-1396.

FLORENCE. S. CROCE, CHOIR: *History of the True Cross*. UFFIZI: *Annunciation with predelle* ("School of Agnolo," Crut., Flor. Churches). PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Marriage of S. Catherine* (Sirén). PRATO: *Madonna with Four SS.* DUOMO, CAPELLA DELLA CINTOLA: *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, frescoes. 21 n. 1, 63, 67, 69, 70, 88.

**Gaddi, Gaddo.** 1239?-1312? (C. & C., Dent, I, 193 n. 2 and 3), friend of Cimabue and Giotto.

ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, UPPER CHURCH, triangular space near the door: *Four Latin Fathers*? also attrib. to Rusuti; *Nativity*, N.T. Series, may represent Gaddi's style. FLORENCE. DUOMO, inside, above portal, in semicircular recess: Mosaic, *Coronation of the Virgin*, may represent style. ROME. S. M. MAGGIORE, FAÇADE: Mosaic, lower part? See Rusuti. See C. & C., Dent, I, 194. II n. 1, 14, 50, 59, 62-3.

**Gaddi, Taddeo.** Giottesque, about 1300-1366.

BERLIN: *Coronation of the Virgin*, triptych, signed and dated. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: Series of small panels from Sacristy of S. Croce. S. CROCE, BARONCELLI CHAPEL: *Frescoes*. OPERE OF S. CROCE (formerly the Refectory): *Cenacolo, etc.*, L., probably mainly by assistants ("School of Giotto," Crut., Flor. Churches). NEW HAVEN, U.S.A. JARVES COLLECTION: Large *Entombment* (Sirén, also attrib. to Ant. Veneziano). NEW YORK. HISTORICAL SOCIETY: *Madonna Encircled by Ten SS.*, altarpiece, unsigned, E. (Sirén). PARIS: *Drawing for Presentation of Virgin* (S. Croce). PISA. CAMPO SANTO: *Story of Job*, fresco (Sirén). 34 n. 3, 35 n. 1 and 2, 63-4, 65, 67.

**Gaddi, Taddeo, Follower of.**

FLORENCE. SPANISH CHAPEL, VAULTING: *Ascension*, fresco? part of N. WALL?

**Gaddi, The.** 68, 86, 101.

**Galassi, Galasso.** Ferrarese, active middle 15th c., minor pupil of Pisanello, influence of Umbro-Florentine or Romagnol painters?

FERRARA: *Deposition*? 199 n. 4.

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**Garofalo** (Benvenuto Tisi). Of Ferrara, c. 1481-1559.

FERRARA. GALLERY AND CHURCHES: Many fine examples. MODENA: *Madonna with Three SS.* ROME. CAPITOL: *Annunciation.* 305, 306.

**Gaudenzio.** See Ferrari.

**Genga, Girolamo.** Umbrian, follower of Signorelli, 1476-1551. Various works, Siena and elsewhere. See Mor. & B.B. 145, 151, 164.

**Gentile da Fabriano.** Umbrian, 1360-1427.

BERLIN: *Madonna, Two SS., and Donor.* FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Adoration of the Magi* (Epiphany), signed, dated, 1423. UFFIZI: *Panels of SS.* belonging to Quaratesi polyptych (London). LONDON. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: Quaratesi polyptych, *Central Panel* (see Uffizi). MILAN: Polyptych, signed, painted for Church of the Minor Osservanti, Valle Romita, dismembered = *Coronation of the Virgin with SS. Magdalen, Francis, Jerome, Dominic.* NEW HAVEN, Conn. JARVES COLLECTION: *Virgin and Child.* ORVIETO. DUOMO: *Madonna,* fresco. PISA: *Madonna.* PERUGIA: *Madonna,* panel. 72 n. 4, 73 n. 1, 76, 79, 80 n. 6, 81 n. 1, 82 n. 2, 84, 87-9, 89 and n. 2, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 148, 172 n. 1, 173, 174, 175, 205.

**Gerini, Nicolo di Piero** (Pietro). Giottesque, d. 1415.

FLORENCE. S. CROCE, SACRISTY: *Frescoes.* PRATO. S. FRANCESCO: *Frescoes.* 67.

**Gerino di Antonio Gerini da Pistoia.** Umbrian, active 1500-1529.

BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO. S. AGOSTINO: *Virgin and Demon,* standard, see C. & C., Dent, III, 334 n. 9. FLORENCE. VIA FAENZA: *Cena* (Cenacolo) di Foligno? UFFIZI: *Madonna and SS.* 161.

**Ghiberti.** Florentine sculptor. 17, 29 n. 1, 109 n. 1.

**Ghirlandaio, Domenico.** Florentine, 1449-1494.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Adoration of Shepherds,* altarpiece. INNOCENTI, High Altar: *Adoration of the Magi,* 1488, school execution. OGNISSANTI, L. WALL: *S. Augustine,* fresco. REFECTORY: *Cenacolo.* S. M. NOVELLA, CHOIR: *Lives of the Virgin, Baptist,* etc., frescoes, execution of certain portrait heads chiefly by assistants, 1486-1490. S. TRINITA, CHAPEL R. OF CHOIR: *Life of S. Francis,* frescoes, 1483-1485. OVER ARCH: *Augustus and Sibyl,* fresco (in part), 1483-1485. UFFIZI: *Madonna and SS.,* tondo; *Portrait of "Perugino"?* (B.B.) ("Verrocchio," by Di Credi, according to others); *Drawing for Visitation* (Paris). NEW YORK. MORGAN COLLECTION: *Portrait of Woman.* PARIS: *Old Man and Boy; Visitation,* panel, 1491, mainly school execution.

ROME. VATICAN, SISTINE CHAPEL: *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew*, frescoes, 1482; a few single figures of Popes, 1482. SAN GEMIGNANO. COLLEGIATA: *Life of S. Fina*, two frescoes. 136-7, 232, 233, 234, 237, 251.

**Ghirlandaio, Ridolfo.** Florentine, 1483-1561.

BERLIN: *Nativity*. FLORENCE. CORSINI GALLERY: *Portrait of Man*. PITTI: *Goldsmith*. UFFIZI: *Miracles of S. Zanobi*, 1510. LONDON: *Procession to Calvary*, E. PISTOIA. S. PIETRO MAGGIORE: *Madonna and SS.*, 1508. PRATO. DUOMO: *Legend of the Girale*, signed, 1514. 113, 117, 138, 151, 155 n. 5, 157, 225, 232, 233.

**Ghissi, Francesco** (Francescuccio). School of Fabriano, 2nd half 14th c.

Ghissi's manner is retained in certain later pictures.

FABRIANO: *Madonna "degli Umiltà"*, signed, dated 1359. FERMO. MONASTERY S. DOMENICO, CHOIR: *Madonna della Pace*. MONTE GIORGIO (Province of Fermo). S. SALVATORE: *Virgin and Child*. ROME. VATICAN, MUS. CRIST. (Press No. 13): *Small Virgin*? See C. & C., Dent, II, 147 n. 1. 86.

**Giacomo (Jacopo) de' Salimbeni.** See Jacopo da San Severino. Of San Severino, early 15th c., partner of Lorenzo de' Salimbeni (da San Severino), whom see. Together called the San Severini. See also Lorenzo II, late 15th c.

**Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio.** Sieneſe. Records of him between 1362 and 1389. See C. & C., Dent.

SIENA. SERVI: *Madonna del Belvedere*.

**Giambono, Michele.** Venetian, active 1420-1462.

NEW YORK *Ecce Homo with S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. VENICE. ACADEMY: *Altarpiece, The Redeemer between Four Saints, E.*, transitional between Lorenzo and school of Murano, influence of Gentile da Fabriano; *S. Michel* (Testi). S. MARR'S, MASCOLI CHAPEL: *Mosaic*, in part, c. 1350 (Bode). According to L. Vent., a part from designs of And. del Castagno. 81, 92, 97, 186.

**Gianpetrino.** School of Milan, imitator of Leonardo, active 1st decades 16th c. 226, 228.

**Giolfino, Niccolo.** Veronese, 1476-1555.

VERONA. S. M. IN ORGANO: *Manna in the Desert*; other *Frescoes*. Many other works in Verona.

**Giordano, Luca.** Of Naples, pupil and imitator of Ribera, 1632-1705.

**Giorgio, Francesco di.** See Francesco.

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**Giorgione.** Venetian, 1478-1510.

**BERLIN:** *Portrait of Man*. **BOSTON. FENWAY COURT:** *Christ Bearing the Cross* ? formerly in Casa Loschi, Vicenza. **BUDA-PESTH:** *Portrait of Antonio Brocardo*. **CASTELFRANCO. DUOMO:** *Madonna with SS. Francis and Liberale*, c. 1594 ? accepted by all critics, considerably repainted (see Mor., II, 210, Justi, I, 26), but passages of original colour and general effect remain. **DRESDEN:** *Venus*, in poor condition. **FLORENCE. PITTI:** *Concert* ? (See Titian.) **UFFIZI:** *Knight of Malta* ; *Judgment of Solomon*, before 1504 ? ; *Ordeal of Moses*, before 1504 ? **HAMPTON COURT:** *Shepherd Boy* (head). **PARIS:** *Fête Champêtre*, generally accepted (C. & C. (?), L. Vent., to Sebastiano del P.), surface injured, seems not badly repainted. **MADRID:** *Madonna with SS. Roch and Antony of Padua*. **S. PETERSBURG:** *Judith* (Penther, original attrib.; Mor., tentative attrib.; Bode; Claude Phillips; Haarck; B. B., copy). **VENICE. FONDACO DEI TEDESCHI:** *Frescoes* (1507-1508), almost all traces lost, known in part from Zanetti's engravings, unquestioned, authenticated by document. **GIOVANELLI PALACE:** *Tempest*. **S. ROCCO:** *Christ Bearing the Cross*. **VIENNA:** *Evander Showing Aeneas the Site of Rome*. 102, 176, 178, 180, 185 and n. 2, 188, 190, 191 and n. 3, 192 n. 1, 196 and n. 1, 199, 263, 264 n. 1, 264-9, 270, 271, 274, 275 and n. 1, 276, 278, 279, 280, 282 n. 2, 285, 287, 290, 291, 292, 293, 299, 305, 307.

*Note.*—*Two Figures in Landscape*, Buda-Pesth, accepted as fragment copied from lost original *Birth of Paris* (Mor., B.B., and others).

Giorgione's chronology mainly conjectural. To his Bellinesque period probably belong the Castelfranco *Madonna*, *Tempest*, *Judith*, Madrid *Madonna*, Berlin *Portrait* ? The Uffizi panels are generally thought to precede this group. We think this likely, but not certain. Later than this group, from the more assured style—the Vienna pictures, *Fête Champêtre*, Dresden *Venus*, S. Rocco *Christ*, Pitti *Concert*, *Knight of Malta*, Brocardo *Portrait*.

**Giotteschi, The.** 123.

**Giottino** (Giotto di Maestro Stefano). Florentine, active middle 14th c.

**ASSISI. S. CHIARA:** *Frescoes* (Sirén) ? **S. FRANCESCO:** *Frescoes* ? See pp. 55, 57. **FLORENCE. S. CROCE, S. SILVESTRO CHAPEL:** *Frescoes*, c. 1370 (by Maso di Banco ?). **UFFIZI:** *Deposition*, c. 1370, by Maso di Banco ? 51 n. 2, 55, 57, 63, 65, 67.

**Giotto Bordone.** Florentine, 1276-1336.

**ASSISI. CHURCH OF S. FRANCIS:** *Frescoes*, see pp. 55, 60-62. **BOSTON. FENWAY COURT:** *Presentation in the Temple* ? similar to composition at Padua, same period (B.B. & Sirén, questioned by some). **FLORENCE. ACADEMY:** *Madonna Enthroned with Angels* (originally

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in Ognissanti), time of Paduan works?, earlier?. **BARGELLO** (Palace of Podestà), CHAPEL: *Frescoes*, almost obliterated, Giottesque, containing portraits of Dante (d. 1321) and others, too repainted for attribution, evidence seems to favour Giotto. (See C. & C.; Vent., V, 448-50, B.B., & Perkins?). **S. CROCE, BARDI CHAPEL**: *Frescoes, Scenes from Life of S. Francis*, repainted; *Funeral of S. Francis*, passage of translation of S. Francis, nearly intact; *S. Francis Before the Sultan*, original colour and form; *Stigmatisation*, well preserved; *S. Francis Renounced by His Father*, cf. Assisi version. **OVER ENTRANCE TO BARDI CHAPEL**: *Annunciation*. **PERUZZI CHAPEL**: *Frescoes, Scenes from Life of S. John*. Much restored, probably latest extant paintings, grand designs. *Feast of Herod*, never whitewashed, well preserved. **PADUA. ARENA (SCIOVEGNI) CHAPEL**: Wall frescoes, *Life of Christ and the Virgin*; *Last Judgment*; *Single Figures of Virtues and Vices*; *Painted Crucifix*, damaged, unrestored, of highest beauty as painting. **PARIS**: Panel, *S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, with predella, signed, originally in Pisa, S. Francesco, subjects repeated from Assisi, about time of Paduan series? or a little later? profoundly impressive and dramatic. **PEMBROKE (Lord)**: *Drawing* after Mosaic of Navicella, Rome, see Vent., V, illus., and Strong, *The Drawings in the Collection of Lord Pembroke*. **ROME. S. JOHN LATERAN**: *Fresco Fragment* on pillar? a portion of scene representing the proclamation of the Jubilee by Boniface VIII, 1300, restored, drawing of original condition published by Müntz. **S. PETER'S, VESTIBULE**, over entrance: Mosaic, *Navicella*, 1298, entirely restored, copy in Church of Capuccini. **SACRISTY**: *Altarpiece* (called Stefaneschi), dismembered panels, c. 1298? (Fry and Sirén; Vent., Giotto and pupils; B.B. tentatively to Daddi; Perkins to unknown follower of Giotto, with date somewhat later than 1320. Authorities disagree as to date, but in general place it c. 1320, commission given by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi c. 1320?), evidence inconclusive. It is technically in advance of Assisi, more tentative than Padua. The *Christ* is wonderful, the *Madonna* lovely, *Martyrdom of S. Peter* copied from composition by Cimabue at Assisi. 8, 10, 12, 13, 14 and n. 1, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 39, 40, 41, 43; *Life of*: 45-7; Assisi, Upper Church: 47-51; Lower Church: 51; Padua, 51-3; Florence, 53-4; Appendix: 55, 56, 59, 60 (Stefaneschi Altarpiece), 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 76, 78, 107, 109, 122, 129, 130, 136 and n. 2, 137, 148, 182, 223, 285, 311.

### Giotto, School of.

**BOLOGNA**: *Altarpiece*, signed, probably executed by scholars (Perkins; B. B.). **FLORENCE. LOGGIA DEL BIGALLO**: *Madonna of the Misericordia*, 1342, fresco, 69. **S. CROCE, CAPPPELLA MEDICI**: *Coronation of the Virgin*, signed, probably bottega execution (Taddeo Gaddi,

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Perkins; B.B.), design above Gaddi's capacity? VEZZOLANO, ABBEY, CLOISTERS: *Lux Mundi*; *Adoration of the Magi*; *Call to Penitence*, of Lombard Giottesque derivation.

**Giovanni da Bologna.** Bolognese-Veneto-Byzantine, active, 1377-1389. Provincial, Giottesque.

VENICE: *Madonna and SS.*, character Byzantine-Giottesque. 79 n. 1, 82, 86 n. 3.

**Giovanni da Campione.** Milanese, Gothic transitional, 14th c. and early 15th c.

BERGAMO. CIVIC LIBRARY: *Drawings, Rass. d'A.*, VIII, 1908, 167-74, 74, 95.

**Giovanni Francesco da Rimini.** Umbrian follower of P. d. Francesca, painting 1406, d. before 1470.

LONDON: *Madonna and Child*, Salting gift. OXFORD. CHRIST CHURCH: *Madonna*. PESARO: *Angels Administering to S. Dominic*.

**Giovanni da (or de') Grassi.** Milanese, c. 1340-d. 1398.

BERGAMO. CIVIC LIBRARY: *Book of Drawings*. 74, 95.

**Giovanni da Milano.** Giottesque, c. 1300-large part of trecento, active c. 1365.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Dead Christ*, signed, dated 1365; triptych including *Crucifixion*. S. CROCE, RINUCCINI CHAPEL: *Life of the Virgin*, etc., especial *Noli me Tangere*, composition and landscape most notable in series, frescoes. UFFIZI: *Saints, Prophets, etc.*, polyptych. NEW YORK: *Madonna and Child*. 62, 63, 67, 72, 74 and n. 2, 76 n. 1, 98, 101.

**Giovanni da Milano, School of.**

MILAN: *Madonna Enthroned with Two Female SS. and Two Knights*. SOLARO. ORATORY OF S. MARGARET. VIBOLDONE: *SS. Pietro e Paolo*, fresco (Suida; Cagnola). 74, 76 n. 1.

**Giovanni da Murano** (d'Allmanna or d'Alemagna, or Johannes Almanus). Active 1440-1450, German, worked in Venice.

VENICE: *Madonna Enthroned*, 1446, in collaboration with Antonio da Murano (see A. da Murano). S. GIOBBE: *Annunciation* (background certainly). 77, 97-8, 178.

**Giovanni di Paolo.** Siennese, 1403?-1482.

LYONS. AYNARD COLLECTION: *Six Scenes from Life of Baptist* (B.B. and Perkins; illus. *Rass. d'A. Sen.*, III, fasc. iii.-iv.), of great imagination. SIENA: *Last Judgment*, follows Fra Angelico. SARACINI COLLECTION: *Predelle* (Hey. and Ol.). ROME. DORIA: *Birth of*

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*Virgin*, E.; *Spozalizio*, E., two beautiful panels (Toesca). VATICAN, MUSEO CRISTIANO: *Nativity*, imitates *Nativity* by G. da Fabriano in predella, *Adoration*, Florence; and others (see B.B. Lists). 148, 151.

**Giovanni Piedmontese.** Of Piedmont, 15th c., imitated Piero della Francesca.

CITTA DI CASTELLO: *Madonna with Angels and Two SS.*, 1456. 308.

**Giovanni dal Ponte.** 1385-1437, Giottesque, follower of Lorenzo Monaco, influenced by Masaccio. See Toesca and Gamba.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Coronation of Virgin*, triptych; *Scenes from Life of S. Peter*, predella. LONDON: *S. John Lifted up into Heaven*, etc.; *The Holy Trinity and Annunciation*. Cat. attrib. of both to Jacopo di Casentino.

**Giovanni da Rimini.** Shows Roman and Giottesque influence, early 14th c.

URBINO: *Altarpiece*. 64 n. 5.

**Giovanni Pisano.** Italian sculptor, son of Nicola Pisano, whom see. 28, 47 and n. 1.

**Giovanni di San Giovanni.** Florentine, Late Renaissance. 313.

**Girolamo di Benvenuto.** Sieneese, 1470-1524.

LONDON. LATE SALTING COLLECTION: *Portrait of a Lady in Green*, very beautiful, attrib. by W. Rankin. NEW HAVEN, Conn. JARVES COLLECTION: *Love Bound by Maidens*, salver. SIENA: *Madonna and SS.*, signed. Many others. 150-1.

**Girolamo da Cremona.** Illuminator, of Cremona, 1467-1483.

NEW HAVEN. JARVES COLLECTION: *Nativity* (W. R. attrib.). SIENA. DUOMO LIBRARY: Choir books (see beautiful initial letter with an Annunciation). VITERBO. DUOMO: *Christ with Four SS. and Male Donor* (B.B. attrib.), peculiar drapery treatment suggests relation to Liberale. 178 n. 2, 198 n. 1, 204.

**Girolamo dai Libri.** School of Verona, Venetian influence of Montagna, 1474-1556.

LONDON: *Altarpiece*; an illumination of an initial letter. VERONA: *Nativity with SS.*, E.; *S. Anastasia*; *Embroned Madonna with SS.* 199.

**Girolamo da S. Croce.** See Rizo.

**Girolamo da Treviso.** See Pennachi.

**Girolamo of Treviso.** 15th c. 73.



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**Girolamo of Vicenza.** Secondary artist, 15th c.

**Giulio Romano.** Assistant of Raphael, 1492 ?-1546.

MANTUA: *Frescoes*. PARIS: *Portrait of Giovanni d'Aragona*.  
ROME: *Lower Part of Raphael's Transfiguration*. 254, 255, 256 n. 4,  
258.

**Giunto of Pisa (Pisano).** Late Mediæval, middle 13th c.

ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, LOWER CHURCH, NAVE: *Frescoes* ? tradi-  
tional author. PISA: *Crucifix*. 7 and n. 4, 55, 57.

**Giusto da Padua.** See Justus.

**Gozzoli, Benozzo.** Florentine, 1420-1497.

FLORENCE. RICCARDI PALACE: *Adoration of the Magi; Angels; Frescoes*, finished 1459. MONTEFALCO. S. FRANCESCO, BAY TO R. OF ENTRANCE: *Various Frescoes*. CHOIR: *Scenes from Life of S. Francis, etc.*, E., 1450 and 1452. Note influence on Umbrian School. PARIS: *Triumph of S. Thomas Aquinas*, panel, influenced by Traini's picture of same subject? PISA. CAMPO SANTO: *Old Testament Frescoes; Annunciation*, 1468-1484. ROME. LATERAN: *Polyptych*, 1450. S. GEMIGNANO. COLLEGIATA: *S. Sebastian*, 1465; other frescoes. S. AGOSTINO, CHOIR: *Life of S. Augustine*, 1465. Notice rapid execution, portraits, lucidity in both the above. MUNICIPIO: Two figures R. added to Lippo Memmi's *Fresco*. 90 n. 2, 112, 123-4, 136 n. 3, 138, 147, 153 and n. 2, 154, 155 and n. 5, 204, 311 n. 3.

**Granacci, Francesco.** Florentine, 1477-1543.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Madonna Giving Her Girdle to S. Thomas*.  
NEW HAVEN. JARVES COLLECTION: *Pietà*. ROME. BORGHESE: *Maddalena Strozzi as S. Catherine*. 138, 232, 233, 234.

**Grandi, Ercole di Giulio Cesare.** Ferrarese, c. 1464-1535.

FERRARA: *S. Sebastian and other SS. with Donors*; Panels. PALAZZO SCROFA-CALCAGNINI: *Ceiling Decoration*. MASSARI-ZAVAGLIA COLLECTION: *Pietà*. 201.

**Granmorseo, Pietro.** Piedmontese, early 16th c.

VERCELLI. ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE: *Madonna and Two SS.*

**Grassi, da or de'.** See Giovanni.

**Grecchietto, Il.** 310.

**Grecco, El.** 386 and n. 1.

**Guardi, Francesco.** Venetian, 1712-1793.

LONDON: Various examples. MILAN: *View of Venice*, and others. Examples elsewhere. 288, 315.

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**Guariento.** Paduan, Byzantine-Giottesque, 14th c., notices from 1338-d. c. 1368-1370.

**PADUA:** *The Celestial Host*, illus. Testi, I, 265. **EREMITANI, CHOIR:** *Frescoes*, in monochrome authentic. **VENICE. DOGE'S PALACE:** *Paradise*, 1365-1367, fresco, illus. Testi, 270. 76-7, 80, 88, 98, 284 n. 1.

**Guercino** ("Little Squint-eyed") (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri). Bolognese Eclectic, 1591-1610, influenced later by Caravaggio's naturalism.

**FANO. CHURCH:** *Guardian Angel*. (See Browning's poem.) **ROME. VILLA LUDOVISI:** *Frescoes*. Examples: Dresden, Florence, Paris, Rome, and elsewhere. 314.

**Guido da Siena.** Mediæval Siennese, middle 13th c., of provincial, Italo-Byzantine style.

**SIENA. PALAZZO PUBBLICO:** *Madonna*, authenticated, date disputed between 1221 and 1271, repainted 14th c. 7.

**Hals, Franz.** 284.

**Innocenzo da Imola.** Bolognese, 16th c.

**BOLOGNA:** *Virgin of Mercy*. Suburbs, **VILLA DELLA VIOLA:** *Decoration, Diana and Actæon*.

**Jacobello del Fiore.** Venetian, c. 1370 ?-1439. For data and works see Testi.

**BRESCIA. MARTINENGO GALLERY:** *S. George and the Dragon*, interesting example of transitional style, decorative with raised ornament, flat pattern; a little too competent for Jacobello, nearer to Jacopo Bellini (drawings) than to G. da Fabriano and Pisanello. **VENICE:** *Coronation of the Virgin*, signed, 1432 ? or 1438 ? attractive, in the spirit of Lorenzo and Semiticolo. The flowered foreground is like Lorenzo's later work; *Justice*, signed, 1421. The dragon is developed on lines of the acanthus; *Madonna of Mercy with SS. John Baptist and Evangelist*, 1436. **DUCAL PALACE:** *Lion of S. Mark*, signed, 1415. **S. TROVASO:** *S. Grisogono* (L. Vent.; Fry and others attrib. to Jac. Bell.). Important, charming. 77, 80-1, 97, 98, 186.

**Jacobello del Fiore, Style of.**

**BRESCIA. MARTINENGO GALLERY:** *S. George and the Dragon*. 77, 80-1.

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**Jacopo de' Barbari.** In Latin de Barbaris ("Jacob Walsh" or "Welsch"). Venetian, c. 1450-c. 1516.

AUGSBURG: *Still-life*, 1504. FLORENCE. PITTI: *S. Sebastian*. DRESDEN: *Galatea*. NAPLES: *Portrait*. TREVISO. S. NICOLÒ: *Fragments of Decorative Frescoes*. VENICE. FRARI: *Decorated Frescoes*. LAYARD COLLECTION: *Falcon*. VIENNA: *Portrait of a Young Man*. 195 and n. 1.

**Jacopo da Casentino.** Florentine, school of Taddeo Gaddi.

BOSTON. ATHENÆUM: *Nativity* (Sirén). FLORENCE. ARTE DELLA LANA: *Altarpiece*. MILAN. COUNT CAGNOLA: *Triptych*, signed. 64 n. 4.

**Jacopo di Cione.** Giottesque, brother of Orcagna (Andrea di Cione), assistant of Nicolò di Pietro Gerini. 66, 67.

**Jacopo di Paolo.** Bolognese, with Veneto-Byzantine affiliations, 14th c.

**Jacopo da San Severino** (Giacomo de' Salimbeni, which *see*). Umbrian, 15th c., signed work 1416.

URBINO. S. GIOVANNI: *Frescoes*. 89.

**Jacopo del Sellaio.** Florentine, 1441-2-1493.

FLORENCE. S. FREDIANO: *Altarpiece*. NEW HAVEN, U.S.A. JARVES COLLECTION: *Actæon*, cassone piece. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Battle of Romans and Sabines*; *David*; *Nativity*. Story of Nastagio degli Onesti (B.B.). 122-3, 134.

**Jacopo della Quercia.** Siennese sculptor, 1374-1428. 235, 236, 240.

**Johan Stephan von Calcker.** German (Rhenish), follower of Titian, from Duchy of Cleves.

Known by several *Portraits*. PARIS: *Male Portrait*.

**Johannes Almannus.** *See* Giovanni da Murano.

**Justus of Ghent.** 147 n. 1.

**Justus of Padua** (Giusto da Padua = Giusto di Giovanni de' Menabuoi). Minor Giottesque master, late 14th c.

LONDON: *Coronation of Virgin with Crucifixion and Other Scenes*. 72 n. 1, 77.

**Justus of Ravensburg.** Worked in Liguria, early 15th c.

GENOA. S. M. DI CASTELLO, CLOISTER: *Annunciation*. 310.

**Lambertini, Michele di Matteo.** Of Bologna, 15th c., influenced by the earlier San Severini. *See* p. 89.

VENICE: *Altarpiece, Madonna*, with predelle = *Legend of the Cross*. 82, 89.

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**Lanziani, Polidoro.** Venetian, 1515 ?-1565.

HAMPTON COURT: *Diana and Actæon*. OXFORD. CHRIST CHURCH: *Diana and Actæon*. 392.

**Leonbruno, Lorenzo.** Ferrarese, 16th c. See Gamba in *Rass. d'A.*

BERLIN: *Judgment of Midas*. MANTUA. PALAZZO DUCALE: *Decorative Frescoes*. 306.

**Leonardo da Besozzo.** See Molinari.

**Leonardo da Vinci.** Florentine, 1452-1519.

FLORENCE. BELLE ARTI: *Baptism* (in part). UFFIZI: *Adoration of the Magi* (unfinished); *Annunciation* (in part), originally in Convent of Olivato near Florence, Von Liphart conjecturally attrib. to Leonardo E., Bode & Vent. agree, C. & C. and Mor. suggest Rid. Ghirlandaio, B.B. Verrocchio. LONDON: *Virgin of the Rocks*. Copy, not by Leonardo. See Ambrogio da Predis. MUNICH: *Madonna of the Pink* ? repainted. MILAN. S. M. DELLA GRAZIE, REFECTIONARY: *Last Supper*, fresco, once almost entirely ruined by damp and by repainting, but lately restored with great skill by Luigi Cavenaghi of Milan. PARIS: *Annunciation*; *Mona Lisa*; *Virgin of the Rocks*; *Virgin and S. Anne*. ROME. VATICAN: *S. Jerome*, unfinished. VIENNA. LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY: *Portrait*, lower part lost (Bode), disputed with Verrocchio, "Credi" (Venturi, an opinion shared by other critics). If Leonardo's, early, 1475-1478 ? 102, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 118, 121, 124, 125 n. 2, 126, 127 and n. 1, 129, 136, 139, 144, 148, 151, 206, 208, 211-24, 231, 233 and n. 4, 237, 243, 246 and n. 2, 250 and n. 3, 251, 256, 257, 268, 292.

Drawings and writings are scattered, at British Museum, Windsor, Paris (Institute of France, Louvre), Munich, Milan (Ambrosiana), Uffizi, Venice, &c.

**Liberale da Verona.** 1451-1536, Venetian influence.

BERLIN: *S. Sebastian*, Mantegnesque. CHIUSI. DUOMO: *Miniatures*, 1467-1469. SIENA. CATHEDRAL LIBRARY: Choir-book illuminations, 1470-1476. VERONA. DUOMO: *Adoration of the Magi*, E. 178 n. 2, 198 and n. 1, 204.

**Libri, dai.** See Girolamo.

**Licinio, Bernardino.** Venetian, 16th c.

HAMPTON COURT: *Family Group*, 1524. 293.

**Limbourgs, the de.** See Paul.

**Lippi, Filippino.** Florentine, pupil of Botticelli, 1457-1504.

BOSTON: *Cupid and Psyche* (Museum attrib.). See Jac. del Sellaio. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *S. Jerome and Others*. BADIA: *Vision of*

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*S. Bernard*, altarpiece, c. 1480. CARMINE, BRANCACCI CHAPEL: Completion of Masaccio's frescoes, 1484. See p. 109, Appendix B. PITTI: *Allegory*. S. MARIA NOVELLA, STROZZI CHAPEL: *Episodes from Lives of SS. John Evangelist and Philip, etc.*, finished 1502. UFFIZI: *Drawing for Angel; Adoration of the Magi*, 1496; *Portrait of Himself*, fresco, E., Botticellesque; *Old Man*, fresco, E. LONDON: *Madonna with SS. Jerome and Dominic*. NEW YORK: *S. Laurence and Members of the Alessandri Family*. OXFORD. CHRIST CHURCH: *Centaur, etc.* ROME. S. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA, CARAFFA CHAPEL: *Annunciation*; frescoes, *S. Thomas Aquinas; Assumption of the Virgin*, 1489-1493, much repainted. 109, 119 n. 1, 134-6, 216 n. 2, 228, 232.

**Lippi, Filippo.** Florentine, 1406-1469.

BERLIN: *Nativity*. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Coronation of Virgin*, 1441; *Madonna and S. Anthony; Nativity; Archangel Gabriel and Baptist; Magnificat*, 1441. UFFIZI: *Madonna*. S. LORENZO: *Annunciation*. LONDON: *Vision of S. Bernard*. MUNICH: *Annunciation; Madonna*, in bad condition. PRATO. DUOMO, CHOIR: *Lives of SS. John Baptist and Stephen*, 1452-1464, frescoes, condition bad, repainted? ROME. PRINCE DORIA: *Annunciation*. RICHMOND. SIR F. COOK: *Adoration of the Magi*. SPOLETO. DUOMO, CHOIR: *Frescoes*, left unfinished at death, repainted. 69, 90 n. 2, 112, 119 n. 1, 119-21, 122, 123 n. 2, 128, 129 and n. 1, 130 and n. 1, 153, 167 n. 2, 177 n. 3, 182.

**Lippo di Dalmasio.** Connected with schools of the Marches of Umbria middle of 14th c.

BOLOGNA: *Nursing Madonna*. 82 n. 1, 86 n. 3, 89, 95.

**Lippo di Vanni.** Sienese, school of Lippo Memmi. His personality, formerly an unknown quantity, is now clear.

NAPLES: *Incoronata; Seven Sacraments, etc.*, frescoes? ROME. MONAST. DEI SS. SISTO E DOMENICO: *Madonna and SS.*, signed (Perkins, *Rass. d'A. Sen.*, VI, fasc. ii.-iii., also de Nicola). SIENA. SAN DOMENICO, CONVENT CLOISTER: *Annunciation*; fragment of fresco. 26.

**Lodi, Calisto Piazza da.** See Piazza.

**Longhi, Luca.** Of Ravenna. Venetian, middle of 16th c.

**Longhi, Pietro.** Venetian, 1702-1785.

BOSTON. MR. H. MORISON: *Portrait of Himself?* LONDON: *Visit to the Menagerie*, and others. VENICE. QUERINI-STAMPALIA: *Portrait*. 315.

**Lorenzetti, Ambrogio.** Sieneſe, active 1323-1348.

**AREZZO:** *Life of S. Nicholas of Bari*, predella. **FLORENCE:** *Presentation*, ſigned, 1342, and two predella panels, *Life of S. Nicholas of Bari*, 1332, influence of Pietro with more reſe. **SAN GEMIGNANO.** MUNICIPIO: Wall paintings. **MASSA MARITTIMA:** *Altarpiece*, c. 1330 (traditionally attrib. to Pietro, on internal evidence by Ambrogio), influence of Duccio, a hint of Giotto in the types. Firſt pub. by Perkins, *Burl. Mag.*, 1904. **SIENA:** *Madonna and SS.*, polyptych; *Madonna and Child Enthroned Surrounded by Angels and SS.*, with the four doctors of the Church adoring; *Annunciation*, ſigned, 1344, blackened, not retouched; *Assumption of the Virgin*; *Religious Allegory*; *Altarpiece with predella (Pietà)*, fragmentary, E.; two little *Landſcapes*, perhaps parts of a larger picture (Pietro Lorenzetti by Hey. & Ol.); *Magdalen, S. Dorothy, and Others* (cf. *Four SS.*, Opera del Duomo, for likenesſ). **OPERA DEL DUOMO**, 1342, *Birth of the Virgin*; *Four SS.* (C. & C. to Pietro; types ſeem early, which accounts for this attrib.). **PALAZZO PUBBLICO:** *Good and Bad Government*, frescoes, defaced. **S. FRANCESCO:** *S. Francis before the Pope*; *Martyrdom of SS.*, frescoes, damaged, E. **ORATORY ADJOINING CLOISTER:** *Madonna Nursing the Chriſt Child*, panel. **SERVI:** *Salome, etc.*, frescoes, early, ruined. **SAN GALGANO**, near Siena: *Frescoes*, damaged, but important; *Madonna Enthroned with SS.*; *Scenes from Legends of SS.* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, Dec. 1904). 27, 29-32, 33, 34, 65 n. 5, 86, 98.

**Lorenzetti, Pietro.** Sieneſe, active 1305-1348.

**AREZZO.** PIEVE: Polyptych, *Madonna and SS.*, ſigned, 1320. **ASSISI.** S. FRANCESCO, LOWER CHURCH, S. TRANSEPT: *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, fresco; *Scenes from the Passion*, frescoes; *Madonna with S. Francis and Evangelist*, fresco. Has been attrib. to Giotto, Pietro's = eyes near together, thin pointed noſes, pointed chins, textures of paint never found in Giotto. S. TRANSEPT APSE, OVER ALTAR: *Madonna with Baptist and S. Francis*, triptych. N. TRANSEPT, E. WALL: *Companions of S. Francis*, fresco (Perkins' attrib., ſee *Rass. d'A. Senese*, illus.). **CORTONA.** DUOMO, THIRD ALTAR R.: *Madonna and Angels*. **DOFANA**, near Siena. **S. ANSANO:** *Altarpiece*, 1328. **FLORENCE.** S. LUCIA DEI MAGNOLI: *S. Lucy* (has been attrib. to Peſello, to Pietro by Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, Jan. 1906, p. 15. There can be no queſtion of the correctness of this attrib. Cf. *Uffizi Madonna of 1315*). **UFFIZI:** *Madonna and Angels*, 1316 (C. & C. 1340), repainted, full of fervour. Thebaid? B.B., denied by Vent. & Perkins. **SIENA:** *Assumption of the Virgin*; *Chriſt on the Cross, in Landſcape with Scene from Genesis*? allegory, important for relation to *Triumph of Death*, Pisa; *Madonna with S. Nicholas of Bari and Others*, 1328-1329, from S. Anſano in Dofana,

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full of fervour. OPERA DEL DUOMO: *Birth of the Virgin*, triptych, 1342. S. FRANCESCO, SEMINARY adjoining: *Crucifixion*, fresco, damaged. 19, 21, 25 and n., 26, 27-9, 30 n. 2, 34, 37, 56, 58, 85.

Lorenzetti, The. 36.

Lorenzo di Bicci. Florentine, active late 14th c. No certain works.

Lorenzo di Credi. Florentine, pupil of Verrocchio, 1456-1537.

BERLIN: *Young Woman*. CARLSRUHE: *Nativity*. FLOR-ENCE. UFFIZI: *Annunciation*; *Venus*; *Portrait of "Verrocchio"?* (B.B.), see C. & C., Dent, III, 379. See Ghirlandaio. FORLI: *Lady*. PISTOIA. DUOMO: *Virgin Entbroned with SS*. ROME. BORGHESE: *Madonna with Infant S. John*. 126-7, 126 n. 2, 127 n. 1, 137 n. 2, 151 n. 2, 212, 215 and n. 1, 231.

Lorenzo Monaco. Florentine, 1370-1425.

FLORENCE. S. TRINITÀ, BARTOLINI CHAPEL: *Annunciation*, with predelle, altarpiece; *Frescoes*. UFFIZI: *Coronation*; *Adoration of the Magi*. NEW HAVEN. JARVES COLLECTION: *Crucifixion?* attrib. to Giotto. 21 n. 1, 68, 69, 88, 103, 110, 111, 119, 120, 123 n. 2, 129, 138 n. 5.

Lorenzo di Pietro. See Vecchietta.

Lorenzo de' Salimbeni. See Lorenzo da San Severino.

Lorenzo da San Severino (Lorenzo de' Salimbeni). Umbrian, 1374-after 1416, partner of Giacomo de' Salimbeni, whom see.

URBINO. ORATORY OF S. GIOV. BATTISTA: *Crucifixion*; *Madonna*; *Episodes from the Life of John the Baptist*. 89.

Lorenzo da San Severino II. Umbrian, follower of Niccolò da Foligno, — ?-1503.

CLEVELAND, U.S.A. HOLDEN COLLECTION: *Madonna and SS*. (B.B.). LONDON: *Marriage of S. Catherine of Siena*. ROME. CORSINI: *Betrothal of S. Catherine*. 89 n. 1, 154, 156.

Lorenzo of Venice (Veneziano). Venetian, active middle of 14th c.

BERLIN: *SS. Peter and Mark*, 1361, reprod. C. & C., Murray ed., III, 270; *Two Saints* (cf. Cavallini; the long proportions are late Byzantine). PARIS: *Madonna*, beautiful, influence from Sieneese-Provençal painting, reprod. Testi. VENICE: *Two Annunciations* = *Altarpiece*, 1357, large; figures in upper tier later, by Moranzone? The *Father* attrib. to Benedetto Diana. *Annunciation with SS.*, L., approaches transitional style. Cf. Jac. del Fiore, *SS. Peter and Mark*, 1371. 27 n. 1, 79-80, 81 n. 1, 98.

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Lorenzo da Viterbo. Influenced by Benozzo Gozzoli, etc., c. 1446-1470.

VITERBO. S. M. DELLA VERITÀ: *Frescoes*. 147, 311 n. 3.

Lo Spagna. *See* Spagna, Lo.

Lotto, Lorenzo. Venetian, 1480-1556.

ANCONA: Examples. BERGAMO. S. BARTOLOMMEO: *Altarpiece*, 1516. CARRARA GALLERY: *Three Predelle* of the San Bartolommeo altarpiece; numerous other examples. JESI. MUNICIPIO: Interesting examples. Three predelle with story of S. Lucia, typically mature and modern. LORETO: PALAZZO APOSTOLICO: Numerous examples; *Sacrifice of Melchisedec* = his broadest style. MILAN: *Portrait of Old Man, L.*, very fine; *Portrait of a Lady*. PARIS: S. Jerome, E., 1500, with remarkable landscape. RECANATI. MUNICIPIO: *Altarpiece* in six parts, 1508. ROME. CAPITOL: *Portrait of a Man*. TREVISO. S. CRISTINA: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Liberale, Jerome, and Others*, 1505-1506. VENICE. CARMINE: S. Nicholas in Glory, 1529, with fine landscape. 192 n. 3, 196, 204 n. 1, 289-90, 308.

Luca della Robbia. Florentine sculptor. 109 n. 1.

Luca di Tomé. *See* Tomé.

Ludovico de' Angelis. Master of Bernardino di Mariotto, 15th c.

PERUGIA. CATHEDRAL: signed work. 156 n. 4.

Luini, Bernardino. Milanese, about 1475-1531-2.

LUGANO. CASA GUIDI: *Crucifixion*, fresco. MILAN: Rose Hedge *Madonna with the Infant John the Baptist*; many other panels and frescoes. PARIS: Three frescoes; *Holy Family*; *Infant Christ Asleep*; *Salome*. SARONNO. S. M. DEI MIRACOLI, CHOIR: *Frescoes*. 206 and n. 2, 207, 208, 225.

Macchiavelli, Zenobio. Florentine, follower of Lippi, 1418-1479.

Examples in London and Pisa, signed. 122.

Macrino d'Alba (Macrino d'Alladio). Piedmontese, 1470-1528.

MONTE-FERRATO: Numerous altarpieces. PHILADELPHIA. WILSTACH COLLECTION: *Madonna and SS.*, 1494, earliest dated work. TURIN: *Madonna in Glory with Angels and Four SS.*; other altarpieces. 309.

Maestro Gregorio. Sieneese, follower of Taddeo di Bartoli, active c. 1400.

SIENA. OPERA DEL DUOMO: *Madonna and SS.* 39.



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**Mainardi, Bastiano.** Favourite assistant of Ghirlandaio, c. 1450-1513.

BERLIN: Portraits: *Cardinal*; *Young Man*; *Young Woman*.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *S. Peter Martyr between SS. James and Peter*.

LONDON: *Madonna*, showing connection with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo ?  
See p. 137 n. 3. 137-8.

**Maineri, Giovanni (Gian) di Francesco.** Active 1486-1504, illuminator.

TURIN. LIBRARY: Illumination in della Rovere Missal.

**Malouel.** 76.

**Manfredino of Pistoia.** Cimabuesque, 13th c.

GENOA. ACADEMY: *The Last Supper*, signed, 1292.

**Mansueti.** Venetian, pupil of Bastiani, fellow-pupil with Carpaccio, active 1485-d. 1527-1528.

BERGAMO. CARRARA GALLERY: *S. Jerome*, with figures (a male portrait). LOCHIS GALLERY: *Deposition*. VENICE. ACADEMY: *Miracle of the Cross*; *Procession of the Cross*, decorative pictures from the Scuola di S. Giov. Evangelista. 188, 194.

**Mantegna, Andrea.** Paduan, b. Vicenza 1431-d. Mantua 1506.

BERLIN: *Head of Cardinal Scarampo*, supreme work about 1459. BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Infancy of Jesus*. Cf. Madrid picture. FLORENCE. UFFIZI, Triptych, a masterpiece, *Adoration*, cf. similar composition in Gentile da Fabriano and Antonio of Murano; *Circumcision*; *Ascension* (like sketch in Jacopo Bellini's Paris sketch book). HAMPTON COURT: Nine Cartoons—*Triumph of Cæsar*, advanced in 1486, finished after 1491, almost completely repainted end of 17th c. by Laguerre. LONDON: *Agony in the Garden*, 1459; *Madonna Embroned with SS.*; *Triumph of Scipio*. MOND COLLECTION: *Christ-Child with Globe attended by Virgin and SS.* MADRID: *Death of the Virgin* (with Causeway and Castello of Mantua), cf. Boston picture for similar quality. MANTUA. CASTELLO: *Camera degli Sposi*, frescoes, signed, 1474. MILAN. Altarpiece, *S. Luke writing his Gospel, with SS.*, etc., E., 1454 (from S. Giustina, Padua), earliest important work; *Pietà*. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Madonna and Child*. TRIVULZIO COLLECTION: *Madonna and SS.*, L.; *Dead Christ*, found in Mantegna's studio after his death. NAPLES: *S. Euphemia*, 1454, almost ruined, but typical. PADUA. EREMITANI, CHAPEL OF SS. JACOPO AND CRISTOFERO: Six Frescoes, *Legend of SS. James and Christopher*, before 1459. SANTO: Fresco over chief entrance, *SS. Antony and Bernardino*, E., 1452. PARIS: *Calvary*; *Madonna of Victory*, finished 1496; *Parnassus*. TOURS: *Agony in Garden*; *Resurrection* (panels from Calvary, Paris). VENICE: S. George. QUERINI-STAMPALIA: *Presentation*, L. CA D'ORO: *S. Sebastian*.

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VERONA. S. ZENO: *Altarpiece*, predelle are scattered = *Calvary*, Paris, *Gethsemane* and *Resurrection*, Tours. VIENNA: S. *Sebastian*. 76, 168 and n. 2, 169, 173, 174 and n. 1, 175, 176-82, 184, 185, 189, 193, 195, 200, 201 and n. 2, 202 and n. 1, 205 n. 3, 206 n. 2, 252, 255, 265 n. 2, 268, 273 n. 1, 283, 285, 293, 299, 300 and n. 1, 301, 302.

For list and discussion of drawings and of engravings, see Kristeller, Cruttwell, Hind.

**Mantegna, Sons of** = Francesco, Ludovico.

Examples in London. 183 and n. 3.

**Maratta, Carlo**. Roman school, 17th c. 312 n. 1.

**Marcantonio**, or Marc Antonio. See Raimondi.

**Marches, School of**. Umbria.

FERMO. S. LUCIA, CANONICA: *Life of S. Lucia*. See Vent., VII, 186-8.

**Marco d'Oggiono**. Milanese, follower of Leonardo da Vinci, d. c. 1530.

LONDON. BURLINGTON HOUSE: *Copy of Leonardo's Last Supper*.

ROME. BORGHESI: *Salvator Mundi*. 226, 227.

**Marconi, Rocco**.

LONDON: *S. Peter Martyr in a Landscape*? STRASSBURG: *Madonna* (B.B.). VENICE. ACADEMY: *Deposition*. GIOVANNELLI: *Christ and the Adulteress*. SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO: *Christ and SS.* 196-7.

**Margaritone of Arezzo**. Late Mediæval, documented as active 1261, Italo-Roman-Byzantine.

LONDON: *Altarpiece*, about the lowest type of decadent native style. 7.

**Marieschi, M.** Venetian, -1743, delicate painter and engraver, followed by Canaletto.

**Mariotto**. See Bernardino di.

**Martini, Simone**. Siense, b. Siena 1285? -d. Avignon 1344, pupil of Duccio, relationship undocumented but unquestioned.

ANTWERP: *Annunciation* = two panels from Avignon altarpiece, outside of wings; *Crucifixion*; *Deposition* = two panels of centre of Avignon altarpiece. ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, LOWER CHURCH, CHAPEL OF S. MARTIN: Frescoes (date uncertain), *Legend of S. Martin* (see pp. 56, 57). R. TRANSEPT: *Figures of Single SS.*, fresco. AVIGNON. PAPAL PALACE: Wall paintings? DUOMO: *Frescoes*. BERLIN. *Pietà*, L., from Avignon altarpiece, inside right wing. See Antwerp, Berlin, Paris. BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Polytych*. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Annunciation and SS.* (assisted by Lippo Memmi), signed and dated 1333; restored, but many passages intact; SS. *Ansana, Julietta* = feeble execution.

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tion, fin. by Memmi? NAPLES. S. LORENZO MAGGIORE: Altarpiece with predella, *S. Louis of Toulouse Crowning his Brother Robert of Naples*. PARIS: *The Way to Golgotha*, L., from Avignon altarpiece, inside right wing. PISA: Parts of fine *Polpytych*, now dismembered, originally painted for high altar of Convent of S. Catherine, Pisa. SEMINARIO, Library: Other Parts of above *Polpytych*. SIENA. PALAZZO PUBBLICO: *Majestas*, 1315, fresco, restored 1321; *Portrait Guido Riccio da Fogliano on Horseback*, 1328, fresco. S. AGOSTINO, CHOIR: *Legend of Beato Agostino Novello*, triptych? see p. 25 n. 19, 21-5, 26, 27, 31, 34 n. 3, 36, 37, 55, 56, 70, 72, 87, 150, 311.

**Marziale, Marco.** Venetian, active c. 1500.

LONDON: *Circumcision*, 1500; *Madonna Enthroned with SS.*, 1507. VENICE: *Supper at Emmaus*, 1506.

**Masaccio.** Florentine, 1401-1428.

BERLIN: *Adoration of Magi*; *Martyrdom of S. Peter and S. John Baptist*, predella? characteristic; *Birth-plate* or salver, E., somewhat repainted, fine. BRANT BROUGHTON, England. SUTTON COLLECTION: *Madonna* (reprod. B.B., *Rass. d'A.*, May 1908), important. EMPOLI. DUOMO: *Pietà*, attrib. to Masolino, see Neale's *Subjects of the Passion*, *Burl. Mag.* FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Madonna with S. Anne*, E., hieratic, very powerful and sensitive. CARMINE, BRANCACCI CHAPEL: *Frescoes*, see p. 109 for list. S. M. NOVELLA, WALL R. OF ENTRANCE: *Crucifixion, etc.*, fresco, ruined, badly repainted. PISA: Dismembered *Altarpiece*, painted for Carmine, Pisa, 1426, see B.B., *Rass. d'A.*, VIII, 81-5; also art. in *L'Arte*, IX, 125-7, attempting a reconstruction from scattered panels. 63, 69, 87, 94, 101, 102, 103, 104 and n. 2, 105, 106-9, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 130, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 144, 146, 178, 223, 237, 240 and n. 1, 246, 256.

**Masaccio, School of.**

BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Profile Portrait of Young Man*, attrib. to Masaccio, in his style, treatment dryer than usual with Masaccio, recalls *Ricasoli-Adimari Nuptials*, Florence (see Masolino-Masaccio school), attrib. also to Uccello, representative of Masaccio's following. NEW HAVEN. JARVES COLLECTION: Cassone front, *Garden of Love*, attrib. to Gentile da Fab., to Uccello (B.B.), illustrates the distinction of Masaccio's tradition. NEW YORK: *Double Portrait*, fine, in the Masaccio tradition, but not in Masaccio's spirit, probably of Lippi's school.

**Maso.** Giottesque, early 14th c., still unidentified. 63 n. 2.

**Masolino.** Florentine, 1384-c. 1440.

BREMEN. KUNSTHALLE: *Madonna*, 1423. CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA. COLLEGIATA: Frescoes, *Life of the Virgin*, and other subjects. BAPTISTRY: Frescoes, *Life of S. John Baptist*, 1428? PALAZZO CASTIGLIONE: Frescoes, *A Landscape*, friezes. EMPOLI. DUOMO: BAPTISTRY: *Pietà*? see Masaccio. FLORENCE. CARMINE, BRACCACCI CHAPEL: *Frescoes*, see p. 109 for list. MUNICH: *Madonna with the Father, Dove, and Angels*, before 1423, cf. *Bremen Madonna*. NAPLES: *Christ and the Madonna in Glory*, panel; *Founding of S. Maria Maggiore*; suggests Masaccio, but more suave. Conventional clouds, seen also in N. Italian art. ROME. S. CLEMENTE: Frescoes, *Lives of SS. Clement and Catherine of Alexandria*. SCOTLAND. GOSFORD HOUSE, LORD WEMYSS: *Annunciation* (B.B.). STRASSBURG, *Christ in Glory* (B.B.). TODI: *S. Fortunato*, fresco; *Madonna, Child, and Angels* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*). 27, 63, 66, 67, 70, 75, 76, 88, 94, 101-105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 122.

**Masolino-Masaccio School.**

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Ricasoli-Adimari Nuptials*, Cassone Panel? See Pesellino, School of. 114 n. 1.

**Master of the S. Cecilia Altarpiece.**

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: Altarpiece, *S. Cecilia* (centre), with *Episodes from her Life*. 17, 41 n. 3, 49, 64 n. 5.

Unknown Florentine? or Roman? Master of the Cimabue following, time of Giotto; on internal evidence worked on the last three in S. Francis series at Assisi.

**Master of the Sforza Altarpiece.** Milanese, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci.

MILAN: *Madonna Enthroned with Four Church Fathers, and Lodovico il Moro, Beatrice d'Este, and their two Children*, 1494. 225.

**Master of the Triumph of Death.** Last half 14th c.

PISA. CAMPO SANTO: *Last Judgment and Inferno*; *Thebaid*; *Triumph of Death*, frescoes. Others on adjoining wall, except *Calvary*, repainted. 33-4, 223.

**Matteo di Giovanni.** Sienese, b. Borgo S. Sepolcro, c. 1435-1495.

LONDON: *Assumption of the Virgin*. NEW YORK. MRS. HUNTINGTON: *Cassone-pieces* (F. J. Mather, Jr., *Art in America*, Jan. 1913). SIENA: *Madonna Enthroned with Four Angels*, 1470. S. AGOSTINO: *Massacre of the Innocents*. S. DOMENICO: *Madonna and Child, Two SS.* (at the sides). MADONNA DELLE NEVE: *Madonna delle Neve*, 1477. 36, 38 n. 1, 149-50.

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**Matteo da Gualdo.** (Matteo di Pietro di Giovanni di Ser Bernardo), Marches of Umbria, active 1462-1498.

ASSISI. ORATORY DEI PELLEGRINI: *Frescoes*, executed in company with Pietro (Pier) Antonio Mezzastris. GUALDO TADENO: Examples. 86, 154.

**Mazzola, Filippo.** Of Parma, 1460?-1505. 303.

**Mazzola, Francesco** (Parmegianino). Of Parma, 1503-1540, follower of Correggio, son of Filippo Mazzola. 279, 303-4.

**Mazzoli, Ludovico** (Mazzolino), of Ferrara, c. 1478-1528.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: Examples. ROME. BORGHESE: *Adoration of the Magi*, and others. DORIA: *Christ and the Money Changers*; *Massacre of the Innocents*.

**Mazzone, Giovanni.** Piedmontese, in Liguria middle of 15th c.

GENOA. S. M. DI CASTELLO: *Annunciation and Four SS.*, triptych.

**Medieval.** Examples by unknown artists, arranged alphabetically by places.

AQUILEIA. CATHEDRAL, CRYPT: *Paintings*, 13th c. The *Deposition* motive is found here and in the Lower Church, Assisi. See also panel, Wellesley College, U.S.A. Cf. Parma Baptistery. ASSISI. S. FRANCESCO, LOWER CHURCH, NAVE: *Fresco fragments*, 13th c., see p. 55 f. BERLIN: Ivory, *Madonna*, Byzantine, hieratic, medieval type. BOLOGNA: An Italo-Byzantine school evident, connected with masters of Parma Baptistery frescoes? CIVIDALE: Lombard *Sculptures*, 8th c. DAPHNI, Greece, near Athens. CHURCH: mainly 11th c., true Byzantine character, very interesting, pub. by G. Millet. See also Diehl and Dalton. FLORENCE. BAPTISTERY: *Mosaics*, choir niche, after 1225; *Christ in Cupola*, c. end 13th c. ? 7 n. 3. Veneto-Byzantine with some Florentine characteristics. S. MARCO: *Mosaic*, 8th c. (Vent., II, 276). OPERA DEL DUOMO: Portable, wax, mosaic votive *Panel*, 13th c., Byzantine, reprod. Vent., V, 115. LONDON. BRITISH MUSEUM: *Panel*, 12th c., repeats composition in Miniatures from 9th c. on, panels of this type Duccio and other Tuscans may have taken as models. See O. M. Dalton, *Burl. Mag.*, XIV, 230-5. MILAN. S. AMBROGIO, APSE: *Mosaic*, Italo-Byzantine, 74 n. 1. MONZA: *Group of Hen and Chickens*, Roman-Lombardic, exceptional, not barbaric (Roman influence ?) like the primitive Cividale sculpture. NAPLES. SAN SILVESTRO CHAPEL, near SS. Quattro Coronati: Curious decorative *Frescoes*, middle 13th c. style, remotely Italo-Byzantine. NEPI, near to. S. ELIA (Benedictine Church): *Frescoes*, 11th c., Byzantine style, tense, symbolic works. PARIS. NATIONAL LIBRARY: *Illuminations* in Sermons of S. Gregory Naz., 9th c. PARMA. BAPTISTERY: 13th c. *Frescoes*, Italo-Byzantine

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crude, native, surpass contemporary work at Bologna and Rome, 7 n. 2. PIACENZA. CATHEDRAL: *Fresco Fragments*, E. 12th c., cf. Lombardic sculpture 12th and early 13th c. PISA, ENVIRONS. S. PIETRO IN GRADO: *Frescoes*, seemingly copying lost works by Cimabue (see p. 355 n.), by Deotali Orlando (Vent.). See 9 n. 1. RAVENNA. DUOMO, SACRISTY: *Ivory Throne*, 6th c., Eastern Roman or Byzantine (Hellenistic) style with Oriental admixture, noble conception and form. S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE: *Two Archangels*, mosaic, 7th c., show technical decline (S. Michael—a favourite Lombard subject), 6 n. 1. ROME. S. AGNESE: *Mosaics*, 7th c. S. CECILIA IN TRASTEVERE: *Mosaics*, 9th c. S. CLEMENTE, LOWER CHURCH: *Life of S. Clement, etc.*, frescoes, 11th c., Roman quality with some Byzantine form. UPPER CHURCH, APSE: *Mosaic*, 9th c. (Venturi), 12th c. (other critics), E. 13th c. (Zimmermann), reproduces Roman Classic and early Christian ornamental motives, Byzantine figures, 7 n. 1. S. LORENZO WITHOUT THE WALLS, TRIUMPHAL ARCH: *Mosaic*, 578–90. S. MARCO: *Mosaic*, 8th c., called by Venturi most barbaric mosaic in Rome, 6 n. 1. S. M. ANTIQUA (Forum): *Frescoes*, 8th c.—11th c. A.D., as *Head of S. Andrew*, 8th or 11th c.; *Madonna*, c. 1000; *Crucifixion*, 8th c., superior to those of early 13th c.; partly Roman, but showing a strong Byzantine revival (reprod. in Wilpert), 7 n. 1. S. M. IN TRASTEVERE, APSE: *Mosaic*, c. 1140, decadent. S. PAUL WITHOUT THE WALLS. APSE, LOWER COURSE: *Mosaic, Two Apostles and Two Angels on Each Side of an Altar with Cross*, E. 13th c., rest of mosaic restored (reprod. Zimmermann, *Giotta*, I, 120, figs. 61, 63), contemporary Italo-Byzantine, decadent. See letter of Pope Honorius III to Doge of Venice (1218) asking for two additional mosaicists for work in the Church, pub. by De Rossi, *Mosaics*. LIBRARY: *Bible of Louis the Fat*, with wonderful initial letters, end of 9th c., one of the most beautiful Frankish illuminated books in Italy, see *L'Arte*, I. S. PRASEDE: *Mosaics*, 9th c. S. SABA: *Frescoes*, 10th c., Byzantine. S. STEFANO ROTONDO: *Mosaic*, 7th c. VATICAN LIBRARY: *Joshua Roll; Menologium, Sacred Calendar*, both with Miniatures. ROMAN CAMPAGNA. S. URBANO ALLA CAFFARELLA: *Frescoes*, late Medizeval, see *Crucifixion*, Roman naturalism? S. ANGELO IN FORMIS, near Capua: Wall painting, end 11th c., Byzantine style, Benedictine origin, including an elaborated *Last Judgment, etc.*, between 1058 and 1087, first treatment of subject in Italy, cf. Torcello mosaics. S. GEMIGNANO. MUNICIPIO: Secular wall paintings, *Hunt, etc.* SICILY: CEFALU. DUOMO: *Mosaics*, 12th c.; MONREALE; PALERMO. CAPELLA PALATINA, 12th c. PALAZZO SELAFANI: *Triumph of Death*. SIENA: *Christ Enthroned*, Italo-Byzantine panel; *S. Peter Enthroned*, Byzantine style, panel. SUBIACO. SACRO SPECO, Benedictine Convent S. of Rome: *Frescoes* of various periods, including 12th and 13th c., 7 n. 3; *Portrait of S. Francis*,

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13th c., 57. TORCELLO: Mosaics, *Last Judgment*, etc., 13th c., reprod., Zimmermann, *Giotta*, not pure Byzantine, Italo-Byzantine motives. Cf. mosaics, Florentine Baptistery. VENICE. S. MARK'S: *Pala d'Oro*, 10th c., 6 n. 2. CHIEF DOME: *Mosaics*, 11th c., 6 n. 5; and mosaics 12th, 13th c. as *Discovery of the Body of S. Mark*, end 12th c. See *Burl. Mag.*, XVII, 40 ff. Some mosaics are modified by local character, and are more like Latin works (influenced by miniature paintings (?), which are likely to be more naturalistic than wall paintings or votive panels). VERONA, SAN ZENO: Lombardic sculpture; *Fresco Fragments*, 11th c., 78 n. 1. WELLESLEY COLLEGE. FARNSWORTH MUSEUM: Panel with *Crucifixion, and Death of S. Chiara*, 13th c., pre-Giottesque.

**Melanzio, Francesco.** Of Montefalco. Umbrian, follower of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Perugino.

MONTEFALCO: Several works.

**Meldolla, Andrea** (called Schiavone). Venetian, 1522 ?-1582, painter and engraver.

FLORENCE. PITTI: *Death of Abel*. LONDON. HAMPTON COURT. VIENNA: *Adoration of Shepherds*, and others. 285, 292.

**Melone.** See Ferrari, Altobello.

**Meloni, Mario.** Of Carpi, Ferrara-Bolognese, early 16th c.

**Melozzo da Forlì.** Umbro-Florentine, 1438-1494.

FORLÌ. PINACOTECA: "*Pesta-Pepe*" fresco. FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Angel Gabriel*. LORETO. CASA SANTA, R., SACRISTY: *Frescoes*. CUPOLA, WALL: *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, largely executed by Palmezzano. ROME. QUIRINAL STAIRCASE: Fragment of fresco, *Christ Ascending*. S. PETER'S, INNER SACRISTY: *Music-making Angels*. VATICAN: *Sixtus IV and his Court*, before 1481. See p. 146 n. 3. 139, 146-7, 147 n. 1, 180 n. 4, 206, 309, 311.

**Melozzo da Forlì, School of.** 147.

**Melzi, Francesco.** 226, 228.

**Memmi, Lippo.** Siense, — ?-1357 ?

BERLIN: *Madonna*. ORVIETO. CATHEDRAL: *Madonna of Mercy*, signed. SAN GEMIGNANO. PALAZZO PUBBLICO: *Majestas*, 1317. SIENA. *Madonna*, formerly in the Servi. 19, 24 n. 1, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 56.

**Menabuoi, Giusto di Giovanni de'.** See Justus of Padua.

**Meo.** Siense, follower of Duccio, 14th c., the extreme of decadence from Duccio.

PERUGIA. To be studied in the gallery. 22, 23.

**Mezzastris, Pier Antonio.** Umbrian, active 1452 ?

ASSISI. CAPPELLA DEI PELLEGRINI: *Frescoes*, executed in company with Matteo da Gualdo. FOLIGNO. CONVENT S. LUCA: *Lunette*, over door, fresco. S. M. IN CAMPIIS, near Foligno, *Frescoes*. 154.

**Michelangelo.** See Buonartoti.

**Michele di Ridolfo.** Florentine, late Renaissance.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: Example. 231.

**Michele da Verona.** School of Verona, Venetian influence of Montagna, — ?-1525.

MILAN: *Crucifixion*. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Samson and Delilah*. 199.

**Michelino da Besozzo.** See Molinari.

**Michelino, Domenico.** See Domenico.

**Milan, School of.** 15th c., transitional style, northern influence.

MILAN. CASA BORROMEO: *Ladies and Gentlemen at Cards*, fresco. 75.

**Mino del Pellicciaio.** See Giacomo di Mino, etc.

**Molinari da Besozzo, Leonardo (Bosuccio).** Of Milan, active 1428-1488. Son of Michelino Molinari da Besozzo.

NAPLES. S. GIOVANNI A CARBONARA: *Trinity, etc.*, frescoes, paid for 1458. 75 n. 1, 311 n. 5.

**Molinari da Besozzo, Michelino.** Of Milan, active between 1394-1442, transitional, northern influence.

BERLIN: *Coronation of the Virgin*, attrib., interesting as a problem in the transitional style. SIENA: *Virgin and Child, with Betrothal of S. Catherine and Two SS.*, signed, characteristic. 74 f., 75 n. 1, 95, 122.

**Monaco, Lorenzo.** See Lorenzo.

**Montagna, Bartolommeo.** Vivarini-Bellini school, founder of school of Vicenza, c. 1450-1523.

MILAN. BRERA: *Altarpiece*. NEW YORK: *Madonna Adoring Infant Jesus*. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna and SS.*, altarpiece. VICENZA, near, MONTE BERICO: *Pietà*, 1500. Gallery and churches of Vicenza many fine examples. 178 n. 2, 192 n. 3, 195 and n. 2.

**Montagna, Benedetto.** (Near to Bartolommeo in style.)

ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: Example? 195 n. 2.



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**Moretto, Alessandro Bonvicino.** Brescian, 1498-1554.

BRESCIA. MARTINENGO GALLERY: *Fair Ladies on a Parapet*. LONDON: *Italian Nobleman*. NEW YORK: *Pietà*. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna with Male and Female Donors* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, Sept. 1905). VIENNA: *S. Justina*. 306, 307.

**Morone, Domenico.** School of Verona and Padua, pupil of Benaglio, Venetian influence, 1442-d. after 1503.

LONDON: Two Cassone, *Tournaments*. MILAN. CRESPI COLLECTION: *Battle of the Gonzaga and Buonacolsi*, 1494, influence of Gentile Bellini. OXFORD. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM: *Friar Preaching in a Piazza*. VERONA. S. BERNARDINO: *Madonna with Angels, Donors, etc.*, fresco fragment, ruined, questioned. 198-9.

**Morone, Francesco.** Son of Domenico Morone, 1473-4-1529.

PADUA: *Madonna*. VERONA. GALLERY AND CHURCHES: Numerous examples. 199.

**Moroni, Gian Battista.** Brescian, 1520-1578.

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**Munari, Pellegrino.** Of Modena, early 16th c.

MODENA. S. PIETRO: *Madonna and Child Enthroned with SS.*

**Nardo di Cione.** Brother of Orcagna (Andrea di Cione).

FLORENCE. S. M. NOVELLA, STROZZI CHAPEL: *Inferno*, fresco, traditional attribution. 66-7.

**Negroponte, Fra Antonio da.** See Antonio.

**Nelli, Ottaviano.** Of Gubbio, Umbrian, early, active c. 1400-1444, influenced by Taddeo di Bartolo of Siena.

GUBBIO. S. AGOSTINO, CHOIR: *Frescoes*. S. M. NUOVA: *Madonna del Belvedere*, fresco. FOLIGNO: PALAZZO MUNICIPALE (formerly PALAZZO DE' TRINCI): *Presentation of Virgin*, frescoes, 1424. 55, 84, 85-6, 153, 154.

**Neri di Bicci.** Florentine, active 1453-1475.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Altarpiece*. VARIOUS CHURCHES: *Panels*. 70, 115, 138.

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**Neroccio di Landi.** Siense, 1447-1500.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Life of S. Benedict*, predella. SIENA. *Madonna with Six SS.*, 1492; *Triptych*, 1476; *Others.* 150, 151 n. 1, 156 n. 1.

**Niccolò di Buonaccorso.** Siense, school of Duccio, 14th c.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Presentation.* LONDON: *Sposalizio.* PHILADELPHIA. WEIDENER COLLECTION: *Portrait of Young Girl* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, 1913), exquisite example.

**Niccolò da Foligno (Niccolò d'Alunno).** Umbrian, c. 1430-1502.

ALVIANO. CHURCH: *Madonna in Glory*, unsigned, undated, middle period (Gnoli). BERLIN. VON KAUFFMANN COLLECTION: *S. Giovanni Gualberto before the Crucifix?* (attrib. Frizzoni). See Benvenuto di Giovanni. BOLOGNA: Standard, *Annunciation; Madonna and SS.*, 1482, middle period. FOLIGNO. S. M. IN CAMPIS: *Crucifixion*, 1456, fresco. S. M. INFRA PORTIS: *Frescoes*, E.; all the above related to Ben. Gozzoli. S. NICCOLÒ: *Polyptych*, 1492; *Coronation and SS.* LONDON: *Crucifixion and Scenes from the Passion*, triptych, 1487. BRITISH MUSEUM: *Drawing.* MONTEFALCO. S. FRANCESCO: *Painted Figures* about the Crucifix, E. PARIS: *Scenes from the Passion*, 1492. PERUGIA: *Annunciation*, E. ROME. VATICAN: Polyptych, *Coronation of the Virgin*, E., 1466, injured by restoration. COLONNA: *Child and Demon*, late intense style. 89 n. 1, 153-4, 154 n. 1.

**Niccolò di Maestro Pietro.** Venetian, active 1394-1409.

VENICE: *Virgin and Child*, signed, 1394. 80.

**Niccolò (or Niccola) Pisano (or d'Apulia).** See Nicola.

**Nicola Pisano (d'Apulia).** Great Italian sculptor of 13th c. 8 n. 3, 16, 22, 47.

**Novelli, Pietro.** 312 n. 4.

**Nuzi, Allegretto.** Of Fabriano, Umbrian, matriculated at Florence 1346-d. 1373.

BERLIN: Diptych, *Madonna and Crucifixion.* FABRIANO. S. LUCIA, SACRISTY: *Frescoes?* repainted, of inferior Giottesque technique. ROME. VATICAN: *Triptych*, 1365. 21 n. 1, 84 n. 1, 86, 87, 88.

**Oderisk of Gubbio.** 85 and n. 1.

**D'Oggione.** See Marco.

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**Orcagna** (Cione, Andrea di). Giottesque, 1308 ?-1363-76?

FLORENCE. S. M. NOVELLA, STROZZI CHAPEL: *Paradise and Last Judgment*, frescoes, not ruined, but draperies much repainted; *Altarpiece*, signed. 63, 65 n. 4, 65-6, 67, 72, 111.

**Orley, Van.** 225.

**Ortolano.** See Benvenuti, Gian Battista.

**Pacchiarotto, Giacomo.** Siennese, 1474-1540, often assisted Benvenuto, Fungai, and other artists. Subject of poem by Browning.

SIENA: *Visitation with SS. Michael and Francis*. PALMIERI-NUTI COLLECTION: *Madonna with S. Joseph and Angels*.

**Pacino di Bonaguida.** Immediate pupil of Giotto. 62 n. 2.

**Padovinino** (Alessandro Varotari). Of Padua, Venetian, 1590-1650.

PADUA. EREMITANI: *Doubting Thomas*, 1610. VENICE: *Marriage of Cana*, 1622, painted for the Church of S. Giovanni di Verdara, Padua. CARMINE: *S. Liberatus*. 295.

**Palma, Jacopo** (Il Giovane). Venetian, 1544-c. 1628.

MANTUA: *Portrait of the Cavaliere d'Arpino of Venice*. VENICE. ACADEMY: Finished Titian's *Pieta*. DUCAL PALACE, SALA DEL SCRUTINO: *Last Judgment*. 278 n. 1, 294-5.

**Palma Vecchio, Jacopo** (Giacoso). Venetian, b. Serinalta, near Bergamo, 1480, d. Venice 1528.

BERLIN: *Madonna* ? signed, denied by Mor. and B.B. BRUNSWICK: *Adam and Eve*, E., hard, uncompromising. CAMBRIDGE, England. FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM: *Venus*. CHANTILLY: *Madonna with SS.*, 1500. DRESDEN: *Holy Family with S. Catherine*; *Venus*; *Three Sisters*; *Meeting of Jacob and Rachel*. LONDON: *The Poet* (so-called Ariosto) ? MUNICH: *Male Portrait* ? NAPLES: *Santa Conversazione*. PARIS: *Adoration of the Shepherds and Female Donor*. PEGHERA. CHURCH: *Polyptych* (see G. Frizzoni, *Rass. d'A.*). STUTTGART: *Tobias and the Angel*, E., hard, uncompromising. VENICE: *Storm Calmed by S. Mark* (Claude Phillips), to Giorgione in large part (B.B.). QUIRINI-STAMPALIA: *Lady*, unfinished. S. M. FORMOSA: *S. Barbara*; *S. Sebastian*, etc. VICENZA. S. STEFANO: *Madonna Enthroned with SS.* VIENNA: *Lady*; *Violante*. 204 n. 1, 263-4, 274 n. 2, 276, 279, 289, 290, 291, 306 n. 1.

**Palmerucci, Guido.** Umbrian, active 1315-1342.

GUBBIO. S. M. NUOVA, L. OF ENTRANCE, near Nelli's *Madonna del Belvedere*: *S. Agostino*, fresco. 85.

- Palmezzano, Marco.** Umbro-Romagnol, c. 1456–after 1543.  
 FORLI: *Portrait of Himself*, 1536. LORETO. CASA SANTA: Execution of part of Melozzo's frescoes, as *Entry into Jerusalem*. ROME. LATERAN: *Annunciation*; *Madonna with SS. and Angels*, 1510; *Madonna with SS. and Angels*, 1537. 147.
- Panetti, Domenico.** Ferrarese, 1450–1460 to 1511–1512, teacher of Bianchi-Ferrari.  
 BERLIN: *Deposition*. FERRARA: *Examples*.
- Pannini.** 18th c., worked in Rome. 312 n. 1.
- Pantetti.** 306 n. 1.
- Paolino, Fra.** Of Pistoia, Florentine, assistant of Fra Bartolommeo. Late Renaissance.  
 PISTOIA. S. DOMENICO: *Derivative Work*. Other *Examples*. ROME. CORSINI: *Holy Family*. 232.
- Paolo of Brescia.** Transitional, N. Italian, middle 15th c.  
 TURIN: *Madonna and SS.*, altarpiece, 1458. 76, 95.
- Paolo di Maestro Neri.** Siennese, 14th c.  
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- Paolo of Venice.** Venetian, first half 14th c.  
 SIGMARINGEN: *Altarpiece, Virgin and Child, etc.*, signed, 1358? reprod. by Testi. STUTTGART: *Legend of Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, signed "Paolo cum Filio," dated 1358? See L. Vent. Reprod. by Testi, and in *Ausonia*, 1909, I, Pl. IV, and pp. 93–5, subject interesting. VENICE. TREASURY OF S. MARK'S: *Life of S. Mark*, now forming the back of the famous *Pala d'Oro*, 1345. VICENZA: *Death of the Virgin, Apostles and SS.*, polyptych, 1332. 79.
- Paolo Veronese.** See Veronese.
- Parenzano.** Paduan style, 15th c. 200 n. 3.
- Parmegianino.** See Mazzola, Francesco.
- Patiner.** 225.
- Paul (or Pol) de Limbourg.** 64 n. 1, 73 n. 1, 74, 76.
- Pecori, Domenico.** Obscure follower of Perugino at Arezzo. 161.
- Pennachi da Treviso, Girolamo, the Younger.** Venetian, 1497–1544.  
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**Pennachi da Treviso, Pier Maria.** Venetian, 1464-1515. 292 n. 2.

**Penni.** Pupil of Raphael. 258.

**Perino del Vaga.** Pupil of Raphael. 258.

**Perosino, Giovanni.** Piedmontese, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci. E. 16th c.

TURIN: *S. John the Evangelist.*

**Perugino, Pietro (Vannucci, Pietro).** Umbrian, 1446-1542.

CERQUETO, near Perugia. CHURCH: *S. Sebastian, etc.*, fragment of fresco, 1478. FANO. S. M. NUOVA: *Madonna, SS., Pietà*, with *Predella*, altarpiece, 1497. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Assumption of Virgin*, 1500; *Pietà*; *Getsemane*. PITTI: *Entombment* from S. Chiara, 1495. S. M. MADDALENA DEI PAZZI, OLD REFRATORY: *Crucifixion*, fresco, 1493-1496. S. SPIRITO, W. WINDOW: *Ascension*, Perugino's design. UFFIZI: Altarpiece, *Crucifixion*; *SS. M. Magdalen, John Baptist, Jerome, another S.*, from Church of La Calza; *Portrait of a Lady (B.B.)*, very fine, once given to Raphael; *Portrait of Francesco dell'Opera*, 1494. CENACOLO (CENA) DI FOLIGNO: *Last Supper?* c. 1490, "in great part" (B.B.). LONDON, *Madonna with Two Archangels*, triptych. LYONS: *Ascension*, altarpiece (1498), painted for S. Pietro, Perugia. PARIS: *Apollo and Marryas*; *Madonna with Angels*, tondo in tempera; *S. Sebastian, E.*; *S. Paul, E.*; *Triumph of Chastity*. PERUGIA. CAMBIO: *Frescoes*, 1500. S. SEVERO: *Fresco, SS.* lower part of Raphael's fresco, 1521. ROME. VATICAN: *The Resurrection*, L. SISTINE CHAPEL: *Delivery of the Keys to S. Peter*, fresco, 1482. STANZA DELL' INCENDIO, CEILING: *Frescoes*. VILLA ALBANI: *Triptych*, probably for Cardinal della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II. S. PETERSBURG: *Crucifixion and SS.*, triptych, the famous so-called "Galazine Raphael" from Dominican Church, S. Gemignano. See V. Elder, *Augusta Perugia*, III, 103 f. SPELLO. COLLEGIATA, R. AND L. OF CHOIR: *Frescoes*, 1521. VENICE. ACADEMY: *Drawing for Apollo and Marryas* (Louvre). 88, 126 n., 153, 155 and n. 3, 159 n. 1, 156-60, 161, 162, 164, 202 n. 1, 212, 231, 246, 247, 248, 249 and n. 1, 2, 3, 250, 252 and n. 1, 253 and n. 1, 256 n. 3, 311 n. 8.

**Perugino, School of, "Master A. A. P."** ("L'Ingegno," Andrea di Luigi?).

LONDON: *Madonna.*

**Perugino, School of.**

BRESCIA. MARTINENGO GALLERY: *S. Sebastian* (C. & C., school of Perugino).

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**Peruzzi, Baldassare.** Siense, 1481-1537.

ROME. S. ONOFRIO: *Frescoes*, showing him as Pintoricchio's assistant. VILLA FARNESINA: *Frescoes*. SIENA. CHURCH OF FONTEGIUSTA: *Augustus and the Sibyl*. DUOMO, CAPPELLA DI S. GIOVANNI: *Baptist*; *Baptist Preaching*, both E., influence of Pintoricchio. Important Drawings in the Louvre, etc. 164, 253 and n. 1, 313.

**Pesellino, Francesco.** Florentine, follower of Masaccio and Lippi, 1422-1457.

BERLIN. HAINAUER COLLECTION: *Small Madonna and SS.* BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Triumphs of Petrarch*, two cassone panels, show Fra Angelico's influence. CHANTILLY: *Madonna and SS.*, important picture showing Lippi's influence. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: Predelle = *Nativity*; *Martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian*; *Miracle of S. Antony of Padua*. UFFIZI: *Drawings* for predelle (Florence Academy and Paris). GLOUCESTER. HIGHNAM COURT, SIR HUBERT PARRY: *Annunciation*, of high beauty. LONDON. DORCHESTER HOUSE: *Madonna and SS.*, very fine, typically classic. NEW YORK: *Madonna and SS.*, very interesting, shows Masaccio's influence (Fry, denied by B.B.). MORGAN COLLECTION: *Cassone*. PARIS: Predelle = *Miracle of SS. Cosmas and Damian*; *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, typical, mature work. ROME. PRINCE DORIA: *Two Scenes from Life of Pope Sylvester*, rather early, showing Fra Angelico's influence. WANTAGE. LOCKINGE HOUSE, LADY WANTAGE: *Story of David*, two cassone paintings, bottega work in part, rich in details. 114, 121-2, 138.

**Pesellino, Followers of.** (Unknown.)

DRESDEN: *Madonna Enthroned*. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Riccioli-Adimari Nuptials?* See Masolino-Masaccio School, 114 n. 1. BARGELLO: *Carrand Triptych*. CASA BUONARROTI: Predella, *Life of S. Nicholas of Bari*, authorship uncertain, but important examples of style. LONDON: *The Trinity*. NEW YORK. MORGAN COLLECTION: *Cassone*, effective industrial work of Pesellino's School. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna with SS. and Angels?*

**Pesello, Giuliano.** 121 n. 3, 123 n. 1.

**Piazza da Lodi, Calisto.** Brescian, active between 1521-1562. 307.

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**Pietro di Domenico.** Siense, 1457-1501.

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**Piero della Francesca** (or dei Franceschi). Umbro-Florentine, 1416-1492.

AREZZO. S. FRANCESCO: Frescoes, *History of the True Cross*. DUOMO: *Magdalen*. BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO. MUNICIPIO: *Resurrection*. BOSTON. FENWAY COURT: *Hercules*, fresco. FLORENCE. PITTI: Portraits, *Duke of Urbino*; *Duchess of Urbino*. LONDON: *Baptism*, 113 and n. 5, 114, 139-42, 143, 144, 146, 147, 182, 201, 204, 206, 237, 253, 272 n. 1, 311 n. 3.

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**Pier Francesco Fiorentino.**

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**Piranesi, Gian Battista.** Venetian, 1720-1778, great engraver. 315 n. 3.

**Pirez, Alvaro.** Portuguese of Siense or Pisan school.

PISA. S. CROCE A FOSSABONDA: *Madonna Enthroned*, c. 1400.

**Pisa. CAMPO SANTO:** *Crucifixion (Calvary)*, attrib. by B.B. to the Master of the *Triumph of Death*. 34 n. 2.

**Pisanello (Vittore Pisano).** Veronese, active 1409-14—, d. 1455-1456.

BERGAMO: *Portrait of Leonello d'Este*, 1443-1448. LONDON: *S. Eustace*, 1435-1438; *Madonna and Child in a Mandorla with SS. George and Antony of Padua below*, injured. BRITISH MUSEUM: *Portrait of John Palæologus*, 1438 (medal); other medals, see p. 112 n. 2. PARIS: *Ginevra d'Este*, c. 1435-1438. VERONA. S. ANASTASIA: *S. George, the Liberator of the Princess of Trebizond*, fresco, shortly before 1438? S. FERMO: *Annunciation*, probably between 1424-1427? 73, 74, 77, 78 and n. 2, 79, 87 and n. 2, 88, 89 n. 2, 90, 91-4, 95, 96, 97, 98, 104, 168 n. 2, 172 n. 1, 173, 174, 175, 198, 205.

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MONZA: *Frescoes*. 75, 94, 95.

**Pisano.** See Giovanni and Nicola.

**Pizzolo, Niccolò.** Paduan, pupil of Squarcione.

PADUA. EREMITANI, CHAPEL: *Assumption of the Virgin*, sometimes attrib. to Mantegna. APSIDAL VAULTING OF CHAPEL: *Father and Four SS.*, Squarcionesque mannerism and restlessness in details; *S. James exorcising Demons*; *Calling of James and John*; *Four Church Fathers*, in rounds, suggest connection with Mantegna, peculiar perspective. 168, 169, 179 n. 1, 183 and n. 1

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LUCCA: *Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici*. POGGIO CAJANO: *Decorations*, *see* B.B., *Flor.*, text. PONTORMO, near Empoli. CHURCH: *SS. Giovanni Evangelista and Michael*, reprod. *Riv. d'A.*, III, opp. p. 149. ROME. BORGHESI: *Portrait of Cardinal*. 313.

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**Rosselli, Cosimo.** Florentine, 1439-1507.

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**Salviati, Francesco.** Mannerist, b. Florence 1510, d. 1563, Michel-angelesque, eclectic, fine portrait painter.

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Santi, Giovanni. Marches of Umbria, the father of Raphael, 1430-1440-1494.

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ASCIANO. COLLEGIATA: *Birth of the Virgin*, a capital work—indicates study of Pietro Lorenzetti's painting. BERLIN: *Scene from Life of S. Francis*, predella panel. CHANTILLY: *Mystic Betrothal to*

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**Savoldo, Giovanni Girolamo.** Of Brescia, Venetian, c. 1480-1548.

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FAENZA: *Boy's Head*; *Virgin and Child Enthroned with SS. and Angels*. 203.

**Schiavone, Andrea.** See Meldolla.

**Schiavone, Gregorio**, the Dalmatian. Active middle 15th c., signs himself pupil of Squarcione.

LONDON: *Madonna and SS.* TURIN: *Madonna*, charming example. 168 n. 2, 172, 292 n. 1.

**Sebastiano del Piombo.** Venetian, c. 1485-1547.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Fornarina*, 1512. LONDON: *Resurrection of Lazarus*. PARIS: *S. John in the Desert* (has been wrongly given to Raphael). M. ALPHONSE DE ROTHSCHILD: *Violin Player*. ROME. PRINCE DORIA: *Doge Andrea Doria*. FARNESINA, SALA DI GALATEA: *Frescoes* in eight lunettes, 1511. VENICE: *Visitation*? S. GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO: *S. John Chrysostom Enthroned with other SS.*, E., Giorgionesque. S. BARTOLOMEO IN RIALTO: Single panels of SS., *Bartholomew*, etc., Giorgionesque. VITERBO: *Pietà*, L. 254, 256 and n. 2, 267 n. 4, 268, 269, 270, 305.

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**Segna di Bonaventura.** Sieneſe, follower of Duccio, active early 14th c. (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, IV, fasc. II, III.)

CASTIGLIONE FIORENTINO, near Arezzo: *Madonna Enthroned with Angels and Donors*, ſigned. SIENA: *Madonna and SS.*, ſigned. 19 n. 2, 22, 23, 25.

**Sellaio.** See Jacopo del Sellaio.

**Semitecolo Niccolò.** Venetian, laſt half 14th c.

VENICE: *Coronation of the Virgin*. 79, 80 n. 3.

**Serafini Serafino.** Schools of Emilia-Romagna, active 1348-1385.

MODENA. CATHEDRAL: *Altarpiece*, finiſhed, 1384. 79 n. 3.

**Signorelli, Luca.** Umbro-Florentine, 1441-1523.

BERLIN: *Pan, E.*, c. 1475. CITTÀ DI CASTELLO: *Martyrdom of San Sebastian*, 1496. CORTONA. DUOMO: *Deposition*, 1502, ſigned and dated. FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Crucifixion with the Magdalen*, a church ſtandard. UFFIZI: *Predelle; Madonna*, interesting in form, influence of Ant. Pollajuolo and Filippino. LONDON: *Circumcision*, child repainted by Sodoma. LORETO. SANTA CASA, SACRISTY: *Frescoes*, E. MILAN: *Scourging of Christ, E.*, academic, ſhows Ant. Pollajuolo's influence. MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE, near Siena. CLOISTER: *Frescoes, Life of S. Benedict*, 1497. ORVIETO. DUOMO, CHAPEL, R. TRANSEPT: *Frescoes, Last Judgment and Others; Small Scenes from Divine Comedy, etc.* PARIS: *Adoration of the Kings*. PERUGIA. DUOMO: *Altarpiece*, 1484. RICHMOND. SIR F. COOK: *Portrait of Old Man*. UMBERTIDE. S. CROCE: *Deposition and predelle*, 1516. URBINO. S. SPIRITO: *Church Standard*. VOLTERRA. MUSEO: *Annunciation*, 1491. 118, 139, 142-5, 151, 158, 200, 228, 237, 239, 243.

See Cruttwell for drawings. Drawings are not numerous, and attribution is uncertain.

**Signorelli, Unknown Follower of.**

BUDA-PESTH: *Tiberius Gracchus*. 145 n. 3. LONDON: *Story of Griselda*, three caſſone pieces, 145 and n. 3. ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL: "*Signorelli*," probably mainly by B. della Gatta, but in part perhaps by this Ignoto, as the fine background. 145-6.

**Simone.** See Martini.

**Simone dei Crocifissi.** Bolognese, 14th c.

BOLOGNA: Examples. 79 n. 1, 82 n. 1.

**Sodoma (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi).** Piedmontese, follower of Leonardo da Vinci, 1477-1549.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *S. Sebastian*. MILAN. GINOULHIAC COLLECTION: *Madonna*. MONTE OLIVETO. CONVENT: *Frescoes*. ROME. FARNESINA: *Frescoes*. SIENA: *Panels and Frescoes*. S. DOMENICO: *S. Catherine Frescoes*. 152, 225, 226, 253 and n. 1, 309, 313.

**Solario, Andrea.** Milanese, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci, active 1493-1515.

LONDON: *Venetian Senator; Cristoforo Longoni*. MILAN: *Holy Family with S. Jerome*, 1495; *Madonna*. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*. PARIS: *Madonna of the Green Cushion*. PAVIA. CERTOSA: *Assumption*, unfinished. For him see articles by L. L. von Schlegel, *Rass. d'A.*, 1913. 226, 227.

**Solario, Antonio da.** Lombard-Venetian, worked at Naples. 311 n. 8.

**Solario, Cristoforo.** Sculptor, brother of Andrea Solario. 226.

**Spagna, Lo (Giovanni di Pietro).** Umbrian, active 1500-1528.

CAEN: *Sposalizio*, E. (?) See B.B. MILAN. POLDI-PEZZOLI: *Madonna and Two Angels*. PARIS: *Madonna*. ROME. CAPITOL: *Nine Muses in Landscape*, frescoes. VATICAN: *Nativity*, E. SPOLETO: Examples in the Gallery and churches. 58, 160.

**Spanozzi da Casale, Gian Martino.** Piedmontese, painting in 1481-d. after 1524, obscure master of Sodoma and Defendente Ferrari, see *L'Arte*, VII, 441-456.

IVREA, near to Ex-Convent of San Bernardino: Series of *Frescoes*. TURIN: *Madonna*.

**Spinello, Aretino.** Of Arezzo, Giottesque, 1333?-1410.

ANTELLA, near Florence. ORATORY OF S. CATERINA: *Life of S. Catherine of Alexandria*, *Frescoes*. FLORENCE. S. MINIATO: *Frescoes*. PISA. CAMPO SANTO: *Frescoes*. SIENA. PALAZZO PUBBLICO: *Frescoes*. 62, 63, 68, 70.

**Spinello Aretino, School of.**

FLORENCE. S. M. NOVELLA, OLD PHARMACY: *Frescoes?* 68 n. 6.

**Spinelli, Parri Spinello.** Giottesque, son of Spinello Aretino, b. 1387.

AREZZO: *Madonna of Mercy*. S. DOMENICO: *Frescoes, Crucifixion, etc.* 70.

**Squarcione, Francesco.** Paduan, 1394-1474.

BERLIN: *Madonna of the Lazzaro Family*. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Madonna and Angels*, attributed, beautiful design



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(by Benaglio of Verona, according to B.B. in a private communication), cf. *Madonna*, Berlin, for like awkwardness in details. 76, 94 n. 1, 167-8, 172, 173, 176 and n. 2, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183 and n. 1, 2.

**Squarcione, School of.**

PADUA: *S. Jerome and SS.*, altarpiece, perhaps bottega work? 179 and n. 1, 184, 202, 207.

**Starnina.** Giottesque, 1354-1408?

No certain works. 63, 68, 101.

**Stefano.** Giottesque, 1301?-1350. *See* Master of S. Cecilia Altarpiece.

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**Stefano (Plebanus).** Of S. Agnese, Venetian School, 14th c. 79 n. 1.

**Stefano.** Of Verona, called "da Zevio," Veronese, 1393?-1451.

MILAN: *Adoration of the Magi*, 1435, signed and dated. ROME. COLONNA: *Madonna in a Garden*. WORCESTER, MASS.: *Madonna with Angels*, fine example. 73 n. 1, 89 n. 2, 95, 205.

**Taddeo di Bartolo.** Sienese, c. 1362-1422.

CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A. FOGG MUSEUM: *Madonna Enthroned*, L., shows classic feeling. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Saints*. MONTEPULCIANO. DUOMO: *Madonna and SS.*, middle period, 1400? PARIS: *S. Peter*, fine, influence of Simone Martini. PERUGIA: *Two Polyptychs*, classic and monumental. S. GEMIGNANO. MUNICIPIO: *Polyptych*. SIENA: *Annunciation*, 1409; *Crucifixion*, E. (Vent., V, fig. 609). PALAZZO PUBBLICO, CHAPEL: *Death of the Virgin*, etc., 1407-1414. CHAPEL OF CONFRATERNITY OF S. CATHERINE, below hospital: *Altarpiece*. 36, 38-9, 85, 148, 149, 153.

**Tempesta, Cavaliere d'Arpino.** Worked in Rome, 16th c. 311 n. 7.

**Thomas of Modena.** Provincial, Giottesque, 14th c.

TREVISO. S. NICCOLÒ: *Frescoes*. VICENZA: *Frescoes*. VIENNA: *Madonna*, signed. 72, 73 and n. 1, 78, 82.

**Tiberio d'Assisi.** Umbrian, follower of Perugino.

ASSISI. S. M. DEGLI ANGELI: *Frescoes*. ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Madonna and SS.* 161.

**Tiepolo, Gian Battista.** Venetian, 1693-1770.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Detail*. VENICE. LABIA PALACE: *Decorations*. 288 and n. 2, 315.

**Tintoretto**, so called (Jacopo Robusti). Venetian, 1518-1592.

FLORENCE. PITTI: *Luigi Cornaro*; *Soranzo*, 1564, both of central period. UFFIZI: *Jacopo Sansovino*. LONDON: *S. George and the Dragon*, a variant on the S. Petersburg example, rather E. MILAN: *Finding of the Body of S. Mark*, E. ROME. DORIA: *Portrait of a Man*. S. PETERSBURG: *S. George and the Dragon*? attrib. to the school. VENICE. ACADEMY: *Adam and Eve*, E. (once in the Scuola della Carità); *Cain and Abel* (once in the Scuola della Trinità), both rather E., more developed in colour than earlier; *Miracle of S. Mark*, 1548; *Jacopo Soranzo*, 1564; *Andrea Capello*. DUCAL PALACE, ANTE-COLLEGIO: *Mythological Pictures*, all 1578; GREAT COUNCIL HALL: *Paradise*, 1590, now removed. PALAZZO REALE: *Subjects from Life of S. Mark*, E. SALUTE: *Marriage of Cana*, 1561. S. CASSIANO: *Crucifixion* (central period). S. M. DEL ORTO: *Worship of the Golden Calf*; *Last Judgment* (both E. according to B.B.), style seems not very early, later than 1565? *Presentation of the Virgin*, E., in poor condition; *Martyrdom of S. Agnes*, central period. S. TROVASO: *Last Supper* (copy by Bassano in New York). SCUOLA S. ROCCO: Many frescoes in Upper Hall and adjoining room, including *Calvary*, 1565. S. GIORGIO MAGGIORE: *Last Supper*, L.; *Gathering of the Manna*, L. VIENNA: *Susanna and the Elders*. 77 n. 2, 242, 278, 279-85, 292, 293, 294, 295.

**Tintoretto, Daughter of.**

MADRID: A series of Portraits of lovely quality. 285.

**Tintoretto, Son of - Domenico Fattista Robusti.**

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**Titian (Tiziano Vecellio).** 1477-1576.

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**Titian, Brother of.** See Vecellio, Francesco.

**Titian, Nephew of.** See Vecellio, Marco.

**Tomé, Luca di.** Sieneſe, active 1355-1392, ſigned examples in Siena, Piſa, Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Muſeum), Cologne.

NEW HAVEN, Conn. JARVES COLLECTION (No. 35): *Assumption*, lovely little panel (attrib. by Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*; ſee Bartolo di Fredi, attrib. B.B.; by Tegliacci, Sirén). SIENA. S. FRANCESCO, SACRISTY: *Madonna and Four SS.*, freſco (B.B., by Pietro Lorenzetti, G. de Nicola, *Rass. d'A. Senese*, by Lippo Vanni). 36, 37.

**Torbido, Francesco.** Of Verona, Venetian influence, 1486-after 1546.

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**Tura, Cosimo.** Of Ferrara, pupil of Squarcione, c. 1430-1495, influence of Donatello.

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**Turone.** School of Verona, 14th c.

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**Ubertini, Francesco** (called Bacchiacca). Florentine, c. 1494-1557.

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**Uccello, Paolo.** Florentine, 1397-1475.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI: *Battle of S. Romano*, E. S. MARIA NOVELLA, CLOISTERS: *Old Testament Series*, frescoes. LONDON: *Rout of San Romano* ("Battle of S. Egidio"), E. OXFORD. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM: *Hunting Scene at Night*. PARIS: *Portraits*; *Battle of S. Romano*. MME. ED. ANDRÉ: *S. George*, an odd, entrancing example, reprod. by W. Weisbach, *Pesellino*, p. 24. URBINO: *Story of the Jew and the Host*, predelle, 1468. 93, 113-5, 117, 121, 122, 139, 140 n. 1, 167 n. 2, 177 n. 3, 182.

**Ugolino.** Siense, follower of Duccio, a feeble artist.

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**Utili, G. B.** Schools of Emilia-Romagna, active 1505-1515, Florentine influence.

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**Vannucci, Pietro.** *See* Perugino.

**Vannuchio, Francesco.** Siense, doc. notices 1361-1388.

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**Varotari, Alessandro.** *See* Padovinino.

**Vecchietta, Lorenzo** (Lorenzo di Pietro). Siense, c. 1412-1480.

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**Veneziano, Antonio.** *See* Antonio.

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FLORENCE. BARGELLO: *Salver*, Early Renaissance. LONDON. BRITISH MUSEUM: *Drawings*, 14th c., ascribed to Giotto. OXFORD. CHRIST CHURCH: *Drawings*, 14th c. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Cassone Panel*, Early Renaissance. VERONA. S. ZENO: *Crucifixion*, of local character, late 14th c., unknown authorship.

**Veronese, Paolo** (Paolo Cagliari). Of Verona, Venetian, 1528-1588.

CAMBRIDGE. FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM: *Mythological Piece*. DRESDEN: *Madonna with the Cuccina Family*, very important. FLORENCE. PITTI: *Portrait of Daniello Barbaro*. UFFIZI: *Martyrdom of S. Giustina*, typical early picture. LONDON: *Alexander and the Family of Darius*,

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**Verrocchio, Andrea del.** Florentine, 1435-1488.

FLORENCE. ACADEMY: *Baptism*, in design and drawing, partly in execution, assisted by Leonardo and others? UFFIZI: *Annunciation*, in design and partly in execution ? assisted by Leonardo and others; *Allegorical Figure*, drawing, pub. by Cruttwell. PARIS: *Children*, sheet of drawings. PISTOIA. DUOMO: *Madonna and SS.*, altarpiece, execution by assistants. For sculpture, see p. 125 n. 1. For Drawings, see B.B., *Flor. Drawings*. 102, 107, 113, 116, 117, 118, 123, 124-6, 127, 136 and n. 1, 142, 143, 155 n. 5, 158, 204, 212, 213 n. 1, 214, 215, 236.

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**Viti, Timoteo.** Of Urbino, trained in Bologna, 1467-1524.

BOLOGNA: *Magdalen*, 1508-1509. CAGLI. S. ANGELO: *Altarpiece*, L. MILAN: *Madonna Enthroned with Two SS.*, c. 1495; *Annuncia-*

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tion with SS. *John Baptist and Sebastian*. 147, 203 and n. 3, 247 and n. 2, 248.

**Vivarini, Alvise** (Luigi). Venetian, active 1461-1503.

BERLIN: *Madonna and Six SS.*, completed by Basaiti. LONDON: *Virgin and Child*, sensitive landscape. SALTING BEQUEST: *Portrait of Youth*, very winning. MILAN: *Pieta*, E., suavity due probably to Giovanni Bellini. SIG. BAGATI-VALSECCHI: *S. Giustana dei Borromei*, L., recently ascribed by B.B., and in opposition to his former attrib. to Alvise (see *Lorenzo Lotto*), to Giov. Bellini, see *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1913. MONTE FIORENTINO. CHURCH: Polyptych, *The Virgin and Child with Four SS.*, Alvise's earliest known work, signed 1475 (reprod. L. Vent., p. 236), shows personal style, new Venetian spirit. NAPLES: *Madonna with SS. Francis and Bernardino*, 1485, Bartolommeo's form, but more human. PHILADELPHIA. JOHNSON COLLECTION: *Portrait* (Perkins, *Rass. d'A.*, July 1910). VENICE. *Madonna Enthroned with Six SS.*, 1480, important landmark, organic grouping in place of isolated panels, etc., figures not as individualised as later in Alvise, powerful drawing, definite light and shade; *Single Figures of SS.*, undated, superb, clearly later than 1480. MUSEO CIVICO: *S. Antony of Padua*, a little masterpiece. FRARI: *S. Ambrose Enthroned with SS.*, completed by Basaiti, over-elaborate. S. GIOVANNI IN BRAGORA: *Small Madonna*; *The Resurrection*, 1498, his masterpiece. REDENTORE: *Madonna*, very lovely. WINDSOR: *Portrait of Man with Hawk*. 97, 183, 192-3, 195, 196, 226 and n. 2, 290.

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**Vivarini, Antonio**. See Antonio da Murano.

**Vivarini, Bartolommeo**. Venetian, active 1450-1499.

Bartolommeo must have been a wonderful teacher in colour and handling. The works of his bottega are often of exquisite quality.

ENGLEWOOD, N.J. PLATT COLLECTION: *Virgin and Child with Angels*, once in Nevin Collection, Rome, lovely example, very beautiful in colour, E. (?). By some given to the bottega; by Perkins (*Rass. d'A.*, Sept. 1911) to Bartolommeo himself. LONDON: *Madonna with SS. Paul and Jerome*, somewhat repainted? middle period, approaches Giovanni Bellini in suavity. NAPLES: *Madonna Enthroned*, 1465. Tempera, E., beautiful, without separate Gothic panels. Throne, Renaissance with Paduan carvings, &c. Rose hedge and heads of male saints recall Giovanni and Antonio, but distinct advance in general. Colour wonderful. NEW YORK. MORGAN COLLECTION: *Adoration of the Magi*, E., fine example. (See Tancred Borenius, *Burl. Mag.*, 1911.) PARIS: *S. John Capistrano*, 1459, first independently signed example

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of Bart. Vivarini. Paduan influence in drawing of lingering Byzantine types. VENICE: *Madonna, etc.*, polyptych, 1464, here earlier composition survives, cf. S. Andrew with his long beard with the *Coronation* by Giovanni and Ant. da Murano, Brera, Mantegna's influence in drawing, cf. Mantegna's altarpiece, Brera, of ten years earlier, 1454; *S. Barbara*, L.<sup>1</sup> FRARI: *Madonna and Child with Four SS.*, altarpiece, 1482.<sup>1</sup> SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO: *S. Augustine*, 1473, unsurpassed in dignity and religious feeling by an early Renaissance Venetian work. S. GIOVANNI IN BRAGORA: *Virgin and Child between SS. Andrew and John*, triptych, 1478. S. M. FORMOSA: *The Madonna of Mercy, with the Birth of the Virgin and the Meeting of SS. Anna and Joachim*, triptych, 1473, mature period, a masterpiece of great dignity and deep feeling. 97, 98, 168-9, 183, 192, 193.

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BOSTON: *Madonna*. RAVENNA: *Christ in Gethsemane*.

Zaganelli of Cotignola, Francesco. Provincial Ferrarese, 1464-1531.

Zavattari, The. Gregorio and Ambrogio, Milanese, first half 15th c.

MONZA. CATHEDRAL: *Frescoes, Life of Theolinda* (attrib.), Pisanellesque? 75, 96 n. 1.

Zenale, Bernardo Martini. Of Treviglio, Milanese.

LONDON: *Portrait Figures Adoring, Female? Portrait Figures Adoring, Male?* two panels, fragments of a standard? or wings to altarpiece? catalogued under School of Borgognone. MILAN. S. PIETRO IN GESSATE: *Frescoes*, with Butinone? PARIS: *Circumcision?* B.B. TREVIGLIO. CATHEDRAL: *Polyptych*, 1485, in collaboration with Butinone. 207, 208 and n. 1 and 2, 227.

Zevio, da. See Stefano da Zevio.

<sup>1</sup> See in these the inflexibility of his later years.



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**Zoppo, Marco.** Bolognese, school of Squarcione, c. 1440-1498.

BERLIN: *Madonna Enthroned with SS. and Angels*, 1472. BOLOGNA: *Polypych; Casa Colonna Frescoes*, 1498 (attrib.). COLLEGIO DI SPAGNA: *Altarpiece*. 183 n. 2, 202.

**Zuccari, Federigo.** Florentine, manncrist, d. 1609, court painter to Queen Elizabeth of England.

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